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# *The Vigiles of Imperial Rome*

*By*

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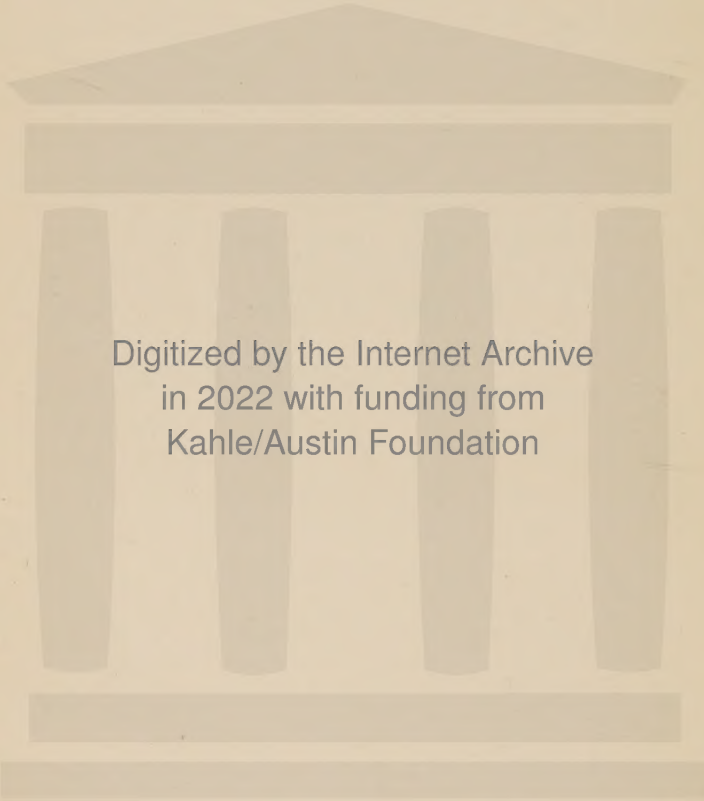
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## P R E F A C E

THIS essay on the Vigiles of Rome is little more than a collection and rearrangement of what others have already written on the subject, and is not even the first of its kind, though it is, I believe, the first in English.

Three comprehensive works on the Vigiles have already been published—by Kellermann, Zander, and de Magistris. Kellermann's treatment of the nominal rolls of the Vth cohort is a monumental work, even though all his interpretations are not accepted to-day, but for the rest of the subject both he and Zander, seeing that they wrote before the discovery of the Excubitorium of the VIIth cohort, and before the excavation of the barracks of the Vigiles at Ostia, are necessarily somewhat out of date; while de Magistris, himself an officer in the Vigiles of modern Rome, has not treated the subject as fully as one could wish, and his work also appeared before the completion of the discoveries at Ostia.

There are also short articles dealing with the Vigiles in general by Origo, Hirschfeld, Lovatelli, and Naudet, and the longer article by Cagnat, in Daremberg and Saglio, while there are sections devoted to the subject in Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*, Marquardt's *Staatsverwaltung*, Hirschfeld's *Verwaltungsbeamte*, and Werner's *De incendiis urbis Romae*. Gardthausen has a section on the institution of the force in his *Augustus*, and von Domaszewski deals very fully with the non-com-

missioned ranks in his *Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*. The topographical side of the subject has been thoroughly treated by de Rossi as regards Cohorts I, II, IV, and V, though it is possible, in view of a few more recent discoveries, to add something as to Cohorts III and VII.

Other special branches of the subject have been treated in various periodicals: the graffiti of the Excubitorium of the VIIth cohort, for instance, have received much attention from different authors, to whom I have referred in the text, while the excavations and discoveries at Ostia are described piecemeal as they were made by Lanciani and Vaglieri in different numbers of the *Notizie degli Scavi*.

I have here endeavoured to combine this scattered material into a comprehensive essay on the Vigiles' life, organization, and duties, and, as far as possible, to improve on previous attempts; but where a subject has been thoroughly treated already, I have been content merely to give conclusions. Thus in the matter of topography I have not thought it necessary to repeat the evidence so clearly marshalled by de Rossi, nor have I copied out the details, interesting though they are, of the transfers, discharges, &c., in the Vth cohort, which have been so admirably expounded by Kellermann. I have, it is true, largely repeated von Domaszewski's analysis of the Principales and Immunes, but it seemed to me that for the sake of completeness a full treatment of this subject was demanded.

Unfortunately the lack of any very recent discoveries inevitably makes any attempt to give a thorough account of the Vigiles a mere patchwork of repetitions, while a further difficulty arises from the fact that the greater part of the available evidence is of the third century—

indeed this essay might justly be called 'An Account of the Third-Century Vigiles'.

I venture to hope, however, that in spite of these defects it may prove of some value ; for a collection of scattered materials, however imperfect, makes the task easier for the next person to attempt it.

The two plans were very kindly drawn for me by Mr. S. Rowland Pierce, Rome Scholar in Architecture of the British School in Rome ; and I gladly take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to him. I should also like to acknowledge here the very great help I received from Dr. Ashby, Director of the School.

P. K. B. R.





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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOT-NOTES

- C. I. L.* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*  
*E. E.* = *Ephemeris Epigraphica.*  
*A. E.* = *Année Epigraphique.*  
*Bull.* = *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica.*  
*Ann.* = *Annali dell Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica.*  
*B. C.* = *Bullettino Comunale.*  
*N. S.* = *Notizie degli Scavi.*  
*Kell.* = Kellermann, *Vigilum Romanorum latercula duo Cælimontana.*  
*de Rossi* = de Rossi, 'Le Stazioni delle sette Coorti dei Vigili nella città di Roma'. *Ann.* 1858, 265-97.  
 (References to pages of offprint.)  
*Werner* = Werner, *de incendiis urbis Romæ.* Leipzig, 1906.  
*de Mag.* = de Magistris, *La militia Vigilum della Roma Imperiale.* Rome, 1898.  
*R. and E.* = Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome.*  
*Mom. Stsr.* = Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht.*  
*Marq. Stswtg.* = Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung.*  
*Dom. Rang.* = Von Domaszewski, *die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres.*  
*Dom. Fahnen* =                „        *die Fahnen im römischen Heere.*  
*Dom. Relig.* =                „        *die Religion des römischen Heeres.*

## INTRODUCTION

THE terrible frequency of devastating conflagrations is one of the most remarkable things in the history of Ancient Rome, and hardly less extraordinary is the apparent inadequacy of counteracting measures. Even more astonishing is the lack of a police system, for to the modern mind, accustomed to the law and order maintained in present-day cities, it is almost inconceivable that Rome could have gone on so long, and have reached such a high standard of civilization, without an organized police force. The evil results of this lack were so tragically obvious in the last century of the Republic, when a Clodius and a Milo, each with his private band of cut-throats, could terrorize the capital of the civilized world. Sulla and Caesar showed that a strong hand backed by legions was what was wanted to put a stop to that sort of thing : and Augustus learned his lesson from them.

But it was one thing to prevent sedition and violence with Praetorian and Urban cohorts, and another to provide against the petty crimes which nowadays occupy so much of the time of the police-courts, while the question of conflagrations also needed facing.

The solution of both of these problems was the force of Vigiles, whose history, organization, and duties I have here attempted to describe.

Once fairly started, the Vigiles seem to have been accepted by the population, and to have become an integral part of the everyday life of the city.

In the English history books we used to learn that Sir Robert Peel instituted the London police, and that they were therefore called 'Bobbies', but, that statement made, the history books were concerned with them no more, and for fuller information we have to turn to the press and to contemporary fiction.

So it is, too, with the Vigiles: after their institution they pass out of history into the sphere of everyday concerns, and it is unfortunate that more of the lighter literature of Rome does not survive to give us a glimpse of them at their daily work.

The few mentions of them that have survived however—for which we cannot be too grateful—seem to indicate that they were spoken of with much of the good-humoured chaff that we meet in modern detective stories applied to the methods of the Metropolitan Police, and at the same time we may be sure that they inspired that comfortable feeling of security which the blue uniform instils into the average Englishman.

It was inevitable, of course, that they should have a nickname, and from a scholiast of Juvenal we learn that they were called 'Sparteoli'<sup>1</sup>—'the little bucket fellows'—and even Tertullian<sup>2</sup> refers to them by this name: but we cannot accept a statement of the same scholiast that 'Custos Gallicus' was a nickname for the Prefect of Vigiles. The allusion in Juvenal is clearly

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Iuv. *Sat.* xiv. 305, 'per translationem disciplinae militaris Sparteolorum Romae, quorum cohortes in tutelam Urbis cum hamis et cum aqua vigilias curare consueverunt vicinis.' Their counterparts at Constantinople were apparently called 'matricarii'—'the carpenters'—from the tools they carried. *Vide* Du Cange, *Gloss. Latin.*, s. v., v, p. 306, on Schol. Iul. *Antecess. in Const.* 23. 88, 'matricarii dicuntur illi quos videmus ad incendia currentes, et portantes spongas, cum ferramentis, &c.'

<sup>2</sup> *Apol.* 39, 'ad fumum coenae Serapicae sparteoli excitabuntur.'

to Rutilius Gallicus, Praefectus Vrbi, and the explanation given by the scholiast is nonsense.<sup>1</sup>

Tertullian also indicates, as too does Seneca,<sup>2</sup> that it was a good joke if the Vigiles were brought running up on a false alarm by the smoke of kitchen chimneys when a big banquet was in progress. But the best picture of all comes from Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*,<sup>3</sup> which is perhaps the nearest approach to a novel that has come to us from Roman times.

He repeats the false-alarm joke, with a delightful addition on the methods of the Vigiles, which is worth quoting in full: 'Itaque Vigiles, qui custodiebant vicinam regionem, rati ardere Trimalchionis domum, effregerunt ianuam subito, et cum aqua securibusque tumultuari suo iure coeperunt.'

It is true these all refer to the Vigiles in their capacity of firemen, not of policemen: but we hear a little of them in the latter role from the lawyers: but as it is in a more serious vein than the remarks I have quoted and referred to above, I will defer mention of it to its proper place in the essay.

In conclusion, one may briefly compare the proportion of police to population in ancient Rome and modern London. The Vigiles numbered 7,000 odd, and with the three Urban cohorts of Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 5), make about 10,000 police for a population (in the first century) of say roughly three-quarters of a million, giving a ratio

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Iuv. *Sat.* xiii. 157 'custos Gallicus, nomen praefecti Vigilum, qui institutus est postquam Galli Capitolium ceperant.' Cf. *infra*, p. 18, note 3. For Rutilius Gallicus see Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Iunius.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 64. 1, 'fumus qui de lautorum culinis erumpere et vigiles terrere solet.'

<sup>3</sup> Ch. 79.



of one policeman to seventy-five inhabitants : while for London the figures are something like one to 300.

It is true that the Vigiles were firemen as well, but as the entire Metropolitan Fire Brigade does not number 2,000 men, the explanation of this amazing discrepancy must be sought elsewhere. It is probably to be found in the large slave population. The numbers of the Vigiles, however, were not substantially increased, though Rome must have held over a million souls by the third century.

Possibly Augustus overestimated the numbers required, but that his institution lasted with few alterations for five centuries is yet another instance of his amazing foresight and statesmanship.

# I

## PRELIMINARY EXPERIMENTS.

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FORCE BY AUGUSTUS.

#### EVIDENCE FOR THE VIGILES

THE force of Vigiles amounted to nearly a third of the garrison of Rome. Though not, at their original establishment by Augustus, a strictly military force, they developed into it under subsequent emperors. In their conception they were nothing more nor less than a city fire brigade, though they differed from modern fire brigades in one important respect, that their duties were not only remedial but also preventive. This, of course, gave them the status of a quasi-police force, and this side of their activities was considerably extended, and the military nature of the force more and more emphasized, as the Principate developed into a purely military monarchy.

That this was not the intention of Augustus when he founded the corps is obvious both from *a priori* considerations of his general military policy, and also from the various experiments he made before finally establishing the brigade, I will not say on a military basis, but with a military organization. And that the Vigiles were not regarded as a military force even in the time of Trajan is clear from their pointed omission by Tacitus in his review of the armies of the empire. Possibly

Tacitus is such a good historian that he is regarding the armies from the standpoint of the early first century and not from that of his own time. Even if this is so it proves that the Vigiles were regarded as a non-military body by Tiberius, and consequently by Augustus.

It may thus be well to trace the preliminary steps which led up to the permanent establishment of the Vigiles in the year A.D. 6,<sup>1</sup> in the consulship of Aemilius Lepidus and L. Arruntius, and to appreciate the hesitation with which Augustus introduced another new and disciplined force into the city, and his efforts to prevent it becoming a weapon of the military power on which his empire rested, and which it was his great aim and object to conceal. Under the Republic there was some attempt to deal with fires, and we hear from the third-century jurists<sup>2</sup> of a board of Tresviri Nocturni, who were apparently responsible for the safety of the city in this respect. If we may believe a sixth-century Byzantine writer,<sup>3</sup> some such office was instituted after the Gauls had left Rome in 390 B.C.; and though we find mentions of it in Livy,<sup>4</sup> and Valerius Maximus quotes two cases of men who held the office being convicted, 'quia vigiliis negligenter circumiret', and 'quod ad incendium in sacra via ortum extinguendum

<sup>1</sup> Dio, lv. 26. 4. Appian's statement (*Bell. Civ.* v. 122) that the Vigiles dated from 36 B.C. is a mere blunder: he is not even sure of it himself.—*φασί* . . .

<sup>2</sup> Paulus, *Digest*, i. 15, 'Locus Classicus' for Vigiles, *vide* App. B.

<sup>3</sup> John Lydus, *de Mag. P.R.* i. 50, who quotes Paulus; cf. Schol. Iuv. xiii. 157, *vide* Mom. *Stsr.* ii. 1054 for Tresviri Nocturni, where he identifies them with the Tresviri Capiteles (cf. *ib.*, p. 547); he also takes Lydus' statement as applying to the force of Vigiles, and calls it a 'wunderlicher Missverstand' (p. 1056, note 4). Lydus is certainly confused, but his quotation of Paulus acquits him of such a blunder as that.

<sup>4</sup> ix. 46. 3, 305 B.C.

tardius venerunt',<sup>1</sup> we know very little about it. The resources at the disposal of these magistrates consisted of a 'familia publica' or band of state slaves, who were stationed 'circa portas et muros',<sup>2</sup> but the system does not seem to have been very adequate for its purpose, if we may judge from the frequency of fires recorded at Rome and from the fact that the Tresviri Nocturni were sometimes reinforced by other magistrates.<sup>3</sup> And not only did other magistrates, notably the aediles, have a hand in this matter of fire-extinguishing, but private individuals also maintained bands of slaves for that purpose, apparently charging for their services; but whether the sums were paid by the unfortunate individual whose house was burned or by the state is uncertain; sometimes, too, they seem to have given their services gratuitously.<sup>4</sup> Further, wealthy young aediles, who wished to court popular favour, and to 'make a splash' at the beginning of their political careers, also raised and maintained private fire brigades of slaves.<sup>5</sup>

This insufficient and somewhat haphazard arrangement obviously could not be allowed to continue, but it

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max. viii. 1. 6, Damn. ib. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Paulus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Livy xxxix. 14, of the special precautions taken in connexion with the Bacchanalia in 186 B.C. The Tresviri Nocturni do not appear here, but the Tresviri Capiteles are made responsible for 'vigilias per urbem', and for fires the assistance of another body of Quinquéviri (cis Tiberim) is required. Who this body was is very doubtful, cf. *C. I. L.* vi. 32316, 32317; Mommsen, *op. cit.* ii, p. 611. Cf. also Paulus, *loc. cit.*, 'interveniebant nonnumquam et aediles et tribuni plebis.' Cf. also Cicero, *In Pisonem*, II. 26, 'ecquod in hac urbe maius umquam fuit incendium cui non consul subvenit?'

<sup>4</sup> Paulus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Vell. Pat. ii. 91. 3 and Dio, liii. 24, both in connexion with Egnatius Rufus (cf. *infra*, p. 20, note 2), cf. also Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 305.

was probably not till the year 22 B.C. that Augustus took any definite steps with regard to fires. In this year he formed a special corps of 600 state slaves as a fire brigade, and put them under the orders of the aediles.<sup>1</sup>

It is, of course, characteristic of Augustus, and especially suitable in the year 22, when he had finally established his own government under the veil of Republican forms, that he continued the old form of the force, namely, a *familia publica*, and put it under magistrates who had previously been concerned in the matter, at any rate at times. What had become of the *Tresviri Nocturni* we do not know; they never appear again, and had probably disappeared before this, so that the aediles were the obvious people to make responsible if he was going to be punctilious about retaining the show of Senatorial Government which it is fashionable to speak of as the Dyarchy.

In the year 19 B.C. occurred the episode of Egnatius Rufus, who had won popular favour during his aedileship by maintaining an efficient private fire brigade.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dio, liv. 2. This was probably a result of the fire of 23 B.C.; *ib.* liii. 33. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Vell. Pat. ii. 91. 3; Dio, liii. 24. There seems to be some doubt as to the date of this incident. Velleius (92. 1) says 'Ferme triennium' after the conspiracy of Murena, and he mentions particularly the activities of the consul C. Sentius Saturninus in repressing Egnatius. Sentius was certainly consul in 19 B.C. (Dio, liv. 10), and, as Velleius also mentions (92. 1), Augustus was certainly away when the incident occurred. There is further support for this order of events in Seneca (*de Clem.* i. 9. 6) ('Murenā Caepio, Caepionem Egnatius secutus est'). The date of Egnatius' aedilate is thus fixed at 20 B.C., because at the time of his conspiracy he was praetor, having been illegally elected the year after he had been aedile (Vell. Dio, *loc. cit.*). Dio, however (possibly with Velleius before him when he wrote), puts the conspiracy in 26 B.C.; i. e. the raising of Egnatius' private *familia* was previous to Augustus' establishment of the new '*familia publica*',



He had been aedile in 20 B.C., i.e. after the formation of the new *familia publica*, so that it looks as if his maintaining a private *familia* was purely braggadocio and demagogism, and an insult to Augustus; it is worth noting that Velleius calls him 'per omnia gladiatorum quam senatori propior'. At any rate his performances called forth a stricter ruling from the Princeps as to the duties and responsibilities of the aediles in the matter of fires, and especially with regard to their prevention as well as to their extinction, thus foreshadowing the duties of the Vigiles.

This arrangement does not seem to have been a great success, to judge from the series of conflagrations which devastated different parts of Rome,<sup>1</sup> and a serious fire in B.C. 7 caused a reorganization of the city fire brigade.

and the latter, though apparently four years later, would be partly the result of Egnatius' proceedings. Further, in support of Dio's date, it may be remarked that Velleius is not very sure about the consul, 'Sentius . . . ne fraudetur memoria', and also that he says he was 'quasi solus consul', implying that this was due to Augustus' absence in the East, though Augustus was not consul in 19 B.C. He was consul, however, in 26 B.C. and was also absent from Rome, but in Spain, not in the East; so possibly Velleius' memory played him false in two points. (He was only born in 19 B.C.!) But on the whole it is safer to accept the contemporary (!) evidence of Velleius, and to assume that Dio is mistaken in the date of Egnatius' conspiracy. And if he is mistaken in this, his other date, 22 B.C. for the establishment of the 'familia publica' of 600 slaves, may also be wrong, and this may still be the result of Egnatius' activities. I prefer, however, to assume Dio wrong in only one case, as in the text. If one knew that Dio was using official 'annales' as his source (and deliberately contradicting Velleius) one would be tempted to accept his testimony against Velleius' hazy reminiscences of what his father perhaps told him in his boyhood: 'but the weight of evidence is too strong against it.

<sup>1</sup> 16 B.C., Dio, liv. 19. 7; 14 B.C., *ib.* 24. 2; 12 B.C., *ib.* 29. 8; *vide* Werner.

The city was at this date divided into the fourteen regions which persisted until the end of the Empire. The lower magistrates, aediles, tribunes, and praetors cast lots for the regions, and each became responsible for the safety of the region which the lot put under his charge: meanwhile the control of the *familia publica* was transferred from the aediles to the *Vicomagistri*.<sup>1</sup>

This system lasted some twelve years, but apparently, like the others, did not give great satisfaction. At any rate, a serious outbreak of fire in A.D. 6 caused a third reorganization of the fire brigade. In this year the corps of *Vigiles*, much as we know it throughout imperial history, was formed. It consisted of seven cohorts<sup>2</sup> of seven centuries each, each cohort being commanded by a Tribune, and the whole force being under the orders of a *Praefectus Vigilum* of Equestrian rank.<sup>3</sup> Dio tells us that Augustus only raised this force temporarily *ὥς καὶ δι' ὀλίγου σφᾶς διαλύσων· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦτο*, for on experiment they proved so efficient that he made them a permanent institution.<sup>4</sup>

The striking thing about these preliminary attempts is that they are all efforts to devise some sort of working system out of the old Republican institutions; but the old weakness of annual amateurs in charge, which pervaded the whole Roman constitution, made efficient control of such a technical branch as fire-fighting impossible.

The incapacity of the senatorial machine to deal with such everyday and necessary matters forced Augustus

<sup>1</sup> Dio, *lv. 8 στενώπαρχοι*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib. 26.* Cf. Suet. *Div. Aug. 30.*

<sup>3</sup> Or *Praefectus Vigilibus*. *Dig. xlvii. 57 (56), § 1*; E. E. ix. (1913) 776.

<sup>4</sup> Dio, *loc. cit.*

to take the matter into his own hands;<sup>1</sup> but his hesitation, which lasted for upwards of thirty years, well shows his reluctance to introduce anything which might appear to be a military force and an instrument of tyranny. His cautious and conservative policy is further illustrated in the original composition of the force, which was recruited entirely from freedmen.<sup>2</sup> The business of extinguishing fires having formerly been a servile occupation, he would not entrust it to citizens, but as so large a force as 7,000 armed and disciplined slaves might have been a menace, and have caused a popular outcry, he would not tolerate that, but compromised by raising the brigade from freedmen. This also served to emphasize the non-military character of the corps, for recruiting for the army was still confined to citizens of free birth (except in great emergencies),<sup>3</sup> and thus the Vigiles were of a lower standing than the other troops, not only of the city, but of the whole army, including the auxiliaries.

The city had been divided into fourteen regions in B.C. 7, as stated, and this arrangement was utilized in the organization of the new corps of Vigiles. Of the seven cohorts each was responsible for the safety of two of the regions of Rome.<sup>4</sup> We know from the fourth-century *Notitia* in which of the regions each cohort was stationed, but it is still not quite clear how

<sup>1</sup> *Dig.* i. 15, 'deinde Divus Augustus maluit per se huic rei consuli, pluribus uno die incendiis exortis, nam salutem R. P. tueri nulli magis credidit convenire, nec alium sufficere ei rei quam Caesarem.'

<sup>2</sup> Dio, *loc. cit.*; Strabo, v. 3. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *Div. Aug.* 25, 'libertino milite, praeterquam Romae incendiorum causa et si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est.'

<sup>4</sup> Paulus, *Dig.* i. 15.

the remaining seven regions were distributed, though it is obvious that the two for which any cohort was responsible must have been adjacent. The sites of the barracks or station of the cohort would naturally be as near as possible to the boundary between the two regions under its charge, and thus in the cases where the site of a station is accurately known it is easy to determine which two regions that particular cohort controlled. But unfortunately, as we know definitely the sites of only four of the seven stations (though a fifth is fairly certain),<sup>1</sup> there is still room for doubt as to the exact allocation of the regions.

The list I give here is that of Richter:<sup>2</sup>

- Coh. I. Vig. Station in Region VII, Via Lata; also responsible for Region IX, Circus Flaminius.
2. Vig. Station in Region V, Esquiline; also responsible for Region III, Isis et Serapis.
3. Vig. Station in Region VI, Alta Semita; also responsible for IV, Templum Pacis.
4. Vig. Station in XII, Piscina Publica; also responsible for XIII, Aventinus.
5. Vig. Station in Region II, Caelimontium; also responsible for I, Porta Capena.
6. Vig. Station in Region VIII, Forum Romanum; also responsible for X, Palatium.
7. Vig. Station in Region XIV, Trans Tiberim; also responsible for XI, Circus Maximus.

It must be borne in mind that the remains found on the sites of the stations that we do know are all of

<sup>1</sup> 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th; 3rd doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> *Top.* 54 n.

a much later date than Augustus, and that the Vigiles as originally established may have been posted in rather different places; but in view of the usual Roman practice with regard to military forces any very great change is unlikely, and we can be pretty certain, at any rate, that the regions assigned to the cohorts as their area for duty were never changed.

We learn from Paulus<sup>1</sup> that the Republican familia publica was 'circa portas et muros disposita' (i.e. the so-called Servian Wall), and as the sites of the later stations hitherto discovered fit in well with this statement, we may imagine that the conservative Augustus stationed his new force in the same places as their predecessors had been posted. But we must not imagine the Augustan Vigiles as housed in the palatial buildings inhabited by their successors of the second and third centuries, of which some scanty remains have come down to us. Dio, indeed, says they had *τείχη ἐν τῇ πόλει*,<sup>2</sup> but he is speaking of them in his own day, and we get a somewhat truer picture from another passage,<sup>3</sup> where, speaking of Sejanus' concentration of the Praetorian cohorts into the Castra Praetoria, he says that formerly the latter were *ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων*. Now Suetonius says the Praetorians in Rome were 'sine castris',<sup>4</sup> and 'per hospitia dispersi'.<sup>5</sup> From these statements it seems reasonable to suppose that under Augustus they were stationed in private houses taken over for the purpose, and that the same plan was followed in the case of the Vigiles.

<sup>1</sup> *Digest*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Dio, lv. 26. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Dio, lvii. 19. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Suet. *Div. Aug.* 49, 'numquam plures quam iii cohortes in urbe passus est, easque sine castris.'

<sup>5</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 37, 'praetorianae vagae ante id tempus, et per hospitia dispersae.'



In the fourth century, so the *Notitia* tells us, in addition to the seven stations of the cohorts, there were fourteen sub-stations or *excubitoria*, presumably one in each Region, but whether or not they were part of the Augustan system it is impossible to say. Only one indisputable *excubitorium* has hitherto been found, while possibly two others have come to light, though they are doubtful. In the one certain case the building is Hadrianic, and the traces of occupation by *Vigiles* only begin with Caracalla; so it may be that the *excubitorium* system was started by him, or it may be merely that this particular house was only taken over under him. All one can say definitely is that the *excubitoria* existed certainly from towards the beginning of the third century till the compilation of the *Notitia* in the fourth century; they probably continued till the end of the Western Empire, and they may have been originally started by Augustus.

We are thus almost entirely ignorant of the Augustan *Vigiles*. We have in one passage of Strabo<sup>1</sup> a piece of contemporary evidence of the fact of their establishment, and we have the later testimony of subsequent writers, Suetonius, Paulus, Dio Cassius, &c., from which we get a fairly full account of their organization. Then, as regards literary evidence, there is an almost unbroken silence for the space of a century and a half. Indeed, if we depended upon the historians for our knowledge of the *Vigiles* we should know less than what I have already set down. In the entire *Annals* of Tacitus, as we have them,<sup>2</sup> there is no single mention of the *Vigiles* or their work (we do, it is true, get a passing reference

<sup>1</sup> v. 3. 7.

<sup>2</sup> There must have been a mention of the *Vigiles* in the account of the fall of Sejanus in the lost part of Book V. Cf. Dio, lvi. 9 (*infra*).

to a prefect in the reign of Claudius); even in the account of the great fire of A.D. 64,<sup>1</sup> where we might reasonably have hoped for some indication of how the Vigiles set about coping with the outbreak, we have no word. There are, of course, indications that steps were taken (*remedia*), and we may suppose the Vigiles to have been responsible for the demolitions which finally stopped the flames; but Tacitus does not mention them. And possibly it is just as well for the reputation of the corps that he does not, if we can believe Dio Cassius, who says<sup>2</sup> that the Vigiles and other troops took to looting, and made no efforts to stop the flames, but rather fed them. But Dio, of course, is full of the story of Nero's responsibility for the fire (which Tacitus at least has the decency to leave an open question), so that any other action on the part of the Imperial troops would be inconsistent with the rest of his tale. But in the rather meagre description he gives us of the conflagration of A.D. 80<sup>3</sup> we have no account of the methods employed by the fire brigade. Possibly they did their duty, so that there is no cause for comment. On the whole, then, such mentions of the Vigiles as we do get in the historians mostly do not refer to them in their proper or fire-fighting capacity, but describe their use as a purely military force (often in conjunction with the urban cohorts), especially in A.D. 31 on the fall of Sejanus, when the Praetorians were not to be trusted, and the Vigiles guarded the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, where the fateful meeting of the Senate was held,<sup>4</sup> and again during the troublous times of the year

<sup>1</sup> *Ann.* xv. 38sq. Nor does Suetonius add anything.

<sup>2</sup> Dio, lxii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Dio, lxvi. 24. Nor does Suetonius add anything.

<sup>4</sup> Dio, lviii. 9-13.



A.D. 69.<sup>1</sup> From these latter passages, however, we do learn one important point, namely, that the Vigiles and their Prefect were apparently already under the orders of the Praefectus Urbi, as they certainly were later.

And this is practically all the literary evidence we have, with the exception of the very important testimony of the third-century jurists. The later historians completely fail us: search them up and down and no mention will be found of the great changes which took place in the scope and status of the Vigiles between their original establishment by Augustus and the sudden magnificent glimpse we get of them at the beginning of the third century.

This glimpse we get through the other great field of historical evidence, namely Epigraphy:<sup>2</sup> but before treating it at greater length I propose briefly to review the epigraphical field so far as it refers to the Vigiles.

For the first century it is disappointing; for the second century there is rather more material; while for the half-century from the accession of Septimus Severus to the death of Gordian III it is abundant, and thereafter meagre.

The inscriptions are of two kinds: (*a*) those of the Vigiles collectively, (*b*) those of individual members of the corps. Those of class (*a*) are nearly all dedications by the corps or by individual cohorts to the reigning emperor. Class (*b*) may be subdivided into (*i*) dedications to the emperor or to some divinity by individuals,

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 20, cashiering of a Tribune of Vigiles by Galba; iii. 64, of Flavius Sabinus, praefectus Urbi, 'esse illi proprium militem cohortium urbanarum, nec defuturas vigilum cohortes'; iii. 69, 'omnis miles urbanus et vigiles domum Flavii complevere.'

<sup>2</sup> In the case of a force like the Vigiles numismatic evidence is not to be expected.

(ii) laudatory or sepulchral monuments to individuals. Of (ii) the majority give all the honours the man earned during his lifetime, service in the Vigiles being mentioned along with others, while of (i) the majority were erected by Prefects.

In connexion with the epigraphic evidence for the Vigiles in general it is curious that not until the reign of Trajan do we find anything but monuments of class (*b*). In his reign and in that of Antoninus Pius (and in that of Commodus) we get inscriptions of cohorts, but these all refer to building activity, and are erected by the individuals responsible for it, so may also be classed as (*b*).

Not until Marcus Aurelius do we find any 'corporate' inscriptions of class (*a*), and then only at Ostia. The first from Rome are of the reign of Septimius Severus.

The argument from silence, of course, is never conclusive, and often dangerous, and especially is this the case in the present inquiry, where so little excavation has been done and so little material has come to light, and it would be unwise to draw any conclusions from it. But the fact remains for the present, and is worth noting.

The lack of epigraphic evidence for the Vigiles seems to have been felt by the archaeologists from the sixteenth century onwards, and the fifth part of vol. vi of the *Corpus* contains many spurious inscriptions, many of which are pure fabrications. Most of these false inscriptions come from Ligorio, and many are noted and some accepted by Kellermann.

A full account of Ligorio and others who drew from him is given in the introduction to the sixth volume of the *Corpus*, so that one need do no more than note the fact, and inscriptions coming from these sources can therefore be neglected.

## II

### THE OFFICE OF THE PREFECT OF VIGILES

As the earliest inscriptions we have in connexion with the Vigiles refer to prefects,<sup>1</sup> I propose to deal first with the history and development of that office.

The Prefect of Vigiles was not a magistrate,<sup>2</sup> but an official appointed by the Emperor, and must originally have been a person of little consequence. We do not even know the name of the first person to hold the office under Augustus, and on the whole it is not surprising that we do not. The commander of a fire brigade performs a useful but humble function, and his name does not get into the history books, or often into the newspapers. The 'man in the street' could not tell you the name of the commanding officer of the L. C. C. Fire Brigade to-day, and though Captain Shaw may have had some little fame in his time, his name is only known to us now because it was immortalized by W. S. Gilbert in *Iolanthe*. The length of time for which the Prefect held office is not definitely known. We have an indication for the third century in Dio's pseudo-Maecenas speech, where it is advised that the *νυκτοφύλαξ* should hold office *ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον* ... *καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ*

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 31857; xiv. 3947.

<sup>2</sup> Pomponius, *Digest*, i. 2. 33, 'Praefectus annonae et vigillum non sunt magistratus, sed extra ordinem utilitatis causa constituti sunt.' Cf. Dio, lii. 24 (pseudo-Maecenas speech).

βουλευτικοῦ προσχειριζόμενοι, while of these latter he has previously said ἀρχέτωσαν μήτε ἔλαττον ἐτῶν τριῶν . . . μήτε πλείον πέντε.<sup>1</sup>

We have no definite evidence of a prefect holding office for more than five years, but the same advice given with regard to the Praefectus Annonae does not seem to have been followed,<sup>2</sup> so that probably the Praefectus Vigilum held office until there was an opening for his promotion, or until his retirement. The Prefect was of Equestrian rank, and Augustus did not push the Equites in front of the Senate as his successors did, so it is hardly odd that we do not hear of this obscure functionary if even the first Praetorian Prefects are mere names to us. The names of forty-three Prefects of Vigiles have come down to us, of whom only six are mentioned by the historians as holding the office. All these six owe their mentions to the fact that they were famous or notorious for something other than their command of the Vigiles.

The earliest evidence for a Prefect is an inscription of the reign of Tiberius.<sup>3</sup> The man's name is mostly illegible, but the fact that he was previously a Procurator gives us an indication of the type of career followed by Prefects of Vigiles before their appointment to that office.

In the same reign we have P. Graecinius Laco, who made himself and his office famous by the part he played in A. D. 31 on the occasion of the fall of Sejanus. His services at this crisis led to his rapid advancement, and in A. D. 44 he is found holding some special

<sup>1</sup> Dio, lii. 24. 23. Cf. Mom. *Stsr.* ii. 1041, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Turranius, *Praef. Ann.* in A. D. 14 (Tac. *Ann.* i. 7) and still in A. D. 48 (*ib.* ix. 31).

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* xiv. 3947.

procuratorial position in a Gallic province, and decorated with consular insignia. We have also epigraphic evidence of the latter fact and of his prefecture of Vigiles.<sup>1</sup>

The next we hear of is Decrius Calpurnianus, whom Tacitus mentions because he was put to death, among others, by Claudius in A.D. 48 for complicity in the Silius-Messalina intrigue.<sup>2</sup>

One of his near successors was one Laelianus,<sup>3</sup> whose appointment is mentioned because he had been sent to Armenia previously to supersede Caelius Pollio (who failed so signally to uphold the prestige of Rome on the occasion of Radamistus' invasion of that country), and had shown himself not much better than his predecessor. His promotion to the Prefecture of the Vigiles was in A.D. 54, so that he was probably succeeded by the infamous Sofonius Tigellinus, who seems to have held the office at the time of his elevation to the Praetorian Prefecture: but we only learn of this casually in a retrospect of his career.<sup>4</sup>

Tigellinus was probably succeeded by Seneca's friend Annaeus Serenus, of whose tenure of the office we learn from the pages of Pliny's *Natural History*.<sup>5</sup> The information comes to us from an illustration of the poisonous properties of some kinds of fungus, from eating which Serenus died; and it is perhaps an indica-

<sup>1</sup> Dio, lviii. 9. 3; *C. I. L.* vi. 31857. Cf. *infra*, p. 61. Dio, lx. 23; *C. I. L.* v. 3340.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xi. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Dio, lxi. 72. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 45, of A.D. 51. Werner (p. 79) identifies Laelianus with Iulius Paelignus, procurator of Cappadocia at this time. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 49. Pollio was not a procurator, but a Praefectus cohortis. On the whole subject *vide* Fabia, *Revue de Philologie*, xxii (1898), pp. 133-45.

<sup>4</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 72. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxii. 96.



tion of the slight importance of the office that though Seneca laments his death, and in his lifetime dedicated three essays to him, and though Martial has two epigrams about him,<sup>1</sup> it is only thanks to Pliny's interest in mushrooms that we learn of the post he filled. It looks as if he was a well-known man in spite of his office rather than because of it.

His successor may have been Plotius Firmus, who was certainly Prefect of Vigiles when he was promoted to the Praetorian office by Otho,<sup>2</sup> to which latter appointment we owe our knowledge of the former.

Tigellinus and Firmus, in being promoted direct from the Prefecture of the Vigiles to that of the Praetorians, afforded a precedent which was followed frequently later, but it seems that the more usual *cursus honorum* was to hold the Prefecture Annonae before rising to one or other of the highest Equestrian positions of Praefectus Praetorio and Praefectus Aegypti.

And this was the case with the next Prefect of whom we hear, this time from an inscription,<sup>3</sup> which records one C. Tettius. C. F. Africanus, who was successively Praefectus Vigilum, Annonae, and Aegypti. It is dated by another,<sup>4</sup> which the wife of this same Africanus had cut on the famous singing statue of Memnon to record her visit on the 12th of February, A.D. 82. We may reasonably assume that feminine curiosity would prompt the lady to make the visit to Memnon one of her first excursions (without her husband apparently!) on her arrival in the province, so that we shall not be far wrong if we put her husband's Prefecture of the Vigiles as

<sup>1</sup> Seneca, *Ep. Mor.* 63, § 14. Three Essays, de Const. Sap., de Otio., de Tranq. An. Martial, vii. 45, viii. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* xi. 5382.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* iii. 35, PR · ID · FEBR · ANNO · I · IMP · DOMITIANI · AVG.

ending in about A.D. 78. In any case he would not have been the one to cope with the disastrous fire which marred the reign of Titus.

We have an excellent illustration of the type of career followed before attaining the Prefecture of the Vigiles in the inscription of Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito.<sup>1</sup> After serving the initial equestrian 'militia' Capito was ab epistulis, a patrimonio, ab epistulis again under Nerva, and by him was decorated with Praetorian insignia. He was then again ab epistulis to Trajan, and finally Praefectus Vigilum. Besides his official career we know he was also a man of letters, if he is the man referred to by Pliny;<sup>2</sup> but whether this was the cause or the effect of his being three times ab epistulis we cannot say. If he is the same man, Pliny's silence may be another indication of the unimportance of the post of Prefect of Vigiles.

Of the remaining thirty-four Prefects many are mere names known to us from inscriptions, though there are some well-known men amongst them, such as Tattius Maximus,<sup>3</sup> Bassaeus Rufus,<sup>4</sup> and Herennius Modestinus;<sup>5</sup> but we do not get much help from literary sources. Two names are mentioned in the section of the *Digest* dealing with their office,<sup>6</sup> and Lampridius tells us that Helio-gabalus appointed a charioteer named Cordius to the command of the Vigiles.<sup>7</sup> There is besides an erroneous statement in Aurelius Victor that Didius Iulianus held the post in 193.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 798.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* viii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 222.

<sup>4</sup> *A. E.* 1922, 239 = *N. S.* 1911, p. 456.

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 226.

<sup>6</sup> Erycius Clarus and Iunius Rufinus, *Dig.* i. 15. 3 and 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Vit. Elag.* 12.

<sup>8</sup> Aur. Victor, *Caesares. Did. Iul.* § 1, 'ex praefectura vigilum ad insignia dominatus processit.' This is quite inconsistent with



But as the literary evidence decreases, so the epigraphic increases, and we get an almost unbroken succession of names covering the reigns of Commodus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus, and Gordian III. This abundance of inscriptions probably indicates an increase in the prestige of the office, and other signs are not wanting to the same effect. There is a notable change, too, in the class of man appointed: instead of men who have risen in the Imperial civil service, we now find men who have worked their way up from the ranks of the Legions or of the city troops via the centurionate, tribunate, and frequently the Prefecture of one or both of the fleets. We have, it is true, one early example of this in Plotius Firmus,<sup>1</sup> but by the beginning of the third century it has become the usual thing.

One of these inscriptions calls for special mention,<sup>2</sup> and that is the famous one referring to the case of the Fullones, which dragged on for eighteen years before being decided. In this document three Prefects of Vigiles are mentioned, before whom successively the case was brought. Kellermann<sup>3</sup> quaintly supposes that these were contemporary, with no shadow of foundation. The case began in 226 and was decided in 244, and we might suppose that these three Prefects covered the whole of that period between them if it were not for two other inscriptions, one of 241<sup>4</sup> and the other of some date

Spartian's account (*Hist. Augg. Vit. Iul.* 1-3), which is confirmed by *C. I. L.* vi. 1401.

<sup>1</sup> *Tac. Hist.* i. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 266. Now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. The three Prefects are Aelius Florianus, Herennius Modestinus, and Faltonius Restitutus.

<sup>3</sup> *Kell. No.* 15.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1092.

between 241 and 244,<sup>1</sup> which gives us . . . Itius Philippus and Valerius Valens respectively, as holders of the office. It appears from the former document, however, that Restitutus gave judgement in the case, so we can only suppose that for some unknown reason—possibly a temporary lack of funds in the case of one or other of the parties in the suit, or possibly a decision and an appeal against it—the matter was in abeyance during Philip's and Valens' terms of office; or that it came before them and they made no pronouncement which affected the judgement.

A complete list of the known Prefects is given in the Appendix.

So much for the holders of the office. Of the duties and responsibilities of the office itself we know next to nothing before the reign of Septimius Severus. As has already been said, under Augustus it cannot have involved much more than the mere command of the fire brigade, though the fact that prevention as well as extinction of fires always seems to have been included in the duties of the corps must have involved a certain amount of police work. Indeed, the name *Vigiles* proves that their duties were largely precautionary, and the Greek equivalent *νυκτοφύλακες* shows that the exercise of these functions was chiefly confined to the night time. But even if the Prefect of *Vigiles* was always responsible for the patrolling and policing of the city at night, it does not follow that at first he exercised any magisterial functions any more than the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police of London does at the present day. But all the same his duties must have been greatly increased during the first century, especially in the magisterial sphere, for in the reign of Trajan we first meet a sub-

<sup>1</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), no. 1211.

prefect.<sup>1</sup> This latter office continues at any rate until Diocletian, and it is evident that the work of the Prefect had become too much for one man, which is not surprising if we examine the duties he was expected to perform at the beginning of the third century.

The *locus classicus* is Paulus de officio Praefecti Vigilum.<sup>2</sup> The unfortunate official was expected 'per totam noctem vigilare et coerrare', while his entire day must have been taken up with trying the various cases which now came under his jurisdiction.

The steps by which this astonishing extension of the duties of the office was reached should not be hard to trace. The primary duties of extinction and prevention of fires appear in Paulus, but no longer in the first place: and we get an excellent account of how far the Prefect's authority had increased in the second of these two spheres. He could apparently mete out summary corporal punishment on the spot to persons whom he

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 221; of 113 A.D. The lack of evidence, epigraphic or otherwise, does not, of course, prove the non-existence of the sub-prefect before this date, though we should probably have heard of him if he had been part of the original Augustan institution. It is worth noting that *C. I. L.* vi. 222, in referring to the year A.D. 111, mentions the Prefect Rammius Martialis, but does not give any sub-prefect. One cannot, however, assume from these two inscriptions together that the sub-prefect was instituted in 112.

In *C. I. L.* vi. 1092 we find a prefect and a CVR(ator) COHH·VIG. As this inscription only exists in a MS. copy, de Rossi (p. 16, foot-note) supposes that CVR is a mistake in transcribing SPR. Mommsen, however (*Stsr.* ii, p. 1057, note 5) disagrees. Cf. Werner, p. 56. *Infra*, p. 112. In *C. I. L.* vi. 3909 a CVR·COH is mentioned in conjunction with SPR and must be a different person, probably an acting Tribune, for the man in question is a Primi-pilarius. It is also remarkable that we have no single instance of a sub-prefect being promoted to the Prefecture.

<sup>2</sup> *Digest*, i. 15. 3; Appendix B.

considered had fires in their houses which were negligently looked after, and likely to cause an outbreak!—an intolerable state of things, one would think, and one which must have led to frequent abuses of power, especially when exercised by subordinates. He was also responsible for every house having adequate fire-fighting appliances,<sup>1</sup> though apparently in this case he could only advise, and could not enforce his advice. But we can imagine that fear of the ‘fustes’ would induce most of the inhabitants to follow his recommendations to the letter.

The extension of these remedial powers to punitive powers in cases of delinquency is an obvious and easy step, and thus the first kind of case with which the Prefect has to deal in his magisterial capacity is, as one would expect, ‘de incendiis’; and the next obvious step is to bring before his court all crimes such as house-breaking, robbery, &c., committed in the city at night, during which period he was responsible for the safety of the town. A natural development of this is to make him deal with the same crimes committed in the daytime, and the next step is to extend the sphere of such crimes, so that not only housebreaking but all sorts of theft and larceny, from breaking into safe deposits down to petty pilfering in the cloak-rooms of the public baths, are tried by the commander of the fire brigade.<sup>2</sup>

Another example of the extension of the Prefect’s jurisdiction is given by the inscription of the Fullones

<sup>1</sup> This must date from A.D. 64. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 43, ‘subsidia reprimendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet.’

<sup>2</sup> Two examples of the Prefect’s jurisdiction may be quoted. Pomponius, *Dig.* xii. 4. 15, ‘Is eum (sc. servum) tradidit praefecto Vigilum, quasi in facinore (sc. furti) deprehensum. Praefectus Vigilum eum summo supplicio adfecit.’ Iulianus, *Dig.* xlvii. 2. 57 (56), § 1, ‘Qui furem deducit ad Praefectum Vigilibus . . . existimandus est delegisse viam qua rem persequetur.’

case.<sup>1</sup> It is hard to bring this under any of the headings given by Paulus, so that it has been supposed that the Vigiles were concerned in it in connexion with the water-supply, as affecting hydrants and such-like. This may be so, or it may be merely an example of a still wider increase of the sphere of authority of the Prefect, subsequent to Paulus. But if the Prefect as representing the Vigiles had interests in the case, it is surprising to find the matter brought before him for trial. The whole matter is uncertain, however, and it is sufficient to note yet another increase in the functions of the Prefect. With all these judicial duties now falling to his lot it is not surprising if we find a further change in the type of person holding the post. As in the third century the Praetorian office came to be held by great jurists, so the same thing happened to the Prefecture of the Vigiles, and one of the three Prefects mentioned in this Fullones inscription, Herennius Modestinus, is known to have been a lawyer of some repute.<sup>2</sup> But if the Prefect had more to do as a magistrate, so, too, he had as a policeman, and we have the testimony of a rescript of Severus and Caracalla, recorded by Ulpian, that this same official was responsible for rounding up runaway slaves and restoring them to their masters.<sup>3</sup>

So he must have had his hands pretty full, and it is some relief to us, as it was doubtless to him, to find that he was not allowed to give judgement on

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 266. *Vide* Mom. *Stsr.* ii, p. 1058.

<sup>2</sup> *Digest* passim.; cf. Lampridius (*Hist. Augg. Vit. Alex.*) 68; cf. also a sub-prefect styled 'iuris peritus'. *C. I. L.* vi. 1621, *cir.* A.D. 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Dig.* i. 15. 4: cf. Paulus, *Recept. Sent.* i, tit. 6a, § 6, 'ii quos non agnoverunt dominis per eiusdem praefecti officium distrahebantur.'



serious cases, but that he passed them on to the superior court of the Praefectus Urbi.<sup>1</sup>

The final stage in the development of the office is given by Cassiodorus' formula for the Prefects of Vigiles at Rome and Ravenna in the time of Theodoric.<sup>2</sup> The duties which fall to the official's lot are sundry and manifold, but the extinction of fires is not among them!

The multiplication of his duties naturally led to a corresponding increase in the prestige of the Prefect of Vigiles, and from the time when the superlative titles<sup>3</sup> first begin to be regularly applied to the Equestrian order in the reign of Septimius Severus, we observe their general use by the holder of this post.

But there is a singular lack of consistency. The first inscriptions where the Prefect is given one of these titles are three dedicated in the year 207 to Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Julia Domna respectively, on the occasion of the restoration of the barracks at Ostia.<sup>4</sup> In all these the Prefect Rustius Rufinus is called E.V., the Subprefect having no such title. That this stands for Eminentissimus Vir and not Egregius Vir is clear from another dedication to Caracalla of the year A.D. 211, where the Prefect is called E.M.V.,<sup>5</sup> and so in one to Diadumenianus (E.M.V.).<sup>6</sup>

It is remarkable that all these dedications come from

<sup>1</sup> Paulus. Ulpian. *Digest*, locc. cit.; cf. *Cod. Inst.* i, tit. 43. 1, 'Praefecti Vigilum publicis incendiis praerant, sed praefecto urbis potestate inferiores.' Cf. Tac. *Hist.* iii. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus, *Var.* vii. 7 and 8.

<sup>3</sup> On these titles vide Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopedie*, s. v. Egregiatus.

<sup>4</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1204, 1205, 1206.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 1207.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 1209. This is not Egregiae Memoriae Vir.; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, loc. cit.

Ostia, and that in inscriptions set up in Rome by the Vigiles at the same period the Prefect is given no letters of honour after his name. The first Roman inscription where these occur is that already mentioned of the Fullones case,<sup>1</sup> where the three Prefects are called P.P.V.V., Perfectissimi Viri; and the same title is used in an Ostian dedication to Gordian III of A.D. 239,<sup>2</sup> in which the sub-prefect is called V.E. This, I think, must be Vir Egregius, as in another inscription of about the same date<sup>3</sup> we have VALERIO VALENTE V.P./PRAEF. VIGIL.V(ices) A(gente) PRAEF/PRAET.E.E.M.M.V.V. (= eminentissimorum virorum) ET/VALERIO ALEXANDRO.V.E./SUB PRAEF.VIGIL.ITEM./IVLIO MAGNO.V.E. SVBPRAEF/ANNONAE.V.A. SVBPRAEF.VIGIL. The sub-prefect would hardly have the same title as the Praetorian Prefects while his superior officer was only Perfectissimus. In another Roman inscription, however, of the same date, no title is given to either Prefect or Sub-prefect.<sup>4</sup> We get the order of precedence clearly in the inscription of Volusianus<sup>5</sup> (of the year 261), which recounts that he was PRAEF.PRAET.EM.V.PRAEF.VIGVL.P.V., and this we may take it was the usual practice, at any rate from Gordian III to Diocletian. The post-Diocletianic Prefects under Constantine and Constans are referred to as V.C. (Vir Clarissimus),<sup>6</sup> but under Gratian and Valentinian as V.P., though in this case Kellermann reads V.C.<sup>7</sup> Finally, it may be observed that Paulus in the passage already referred to says 'super

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 266.

<sup>2</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1210.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 1211.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1092; on the title CVR COHH in this inscription cf. *supra*, p. 37, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. L.* xi. 1836.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 233, 1144, 1157.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* vi. 1180, Kell., p. 19; cf. also *E. E.* ix (1913), 776.



omnes (praeposito) Spectabili viro, qui Praefectus Vigilum appellatur'. But this anachronism must be due to the later editing.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of further evidence one cannot explain these changes, though possibly under the pro-senatorial Alexander the Prefect of Vigiles, who had enjoyed too exalted a station under the military despotism of Severus and Caracalla, was reduced to his proper place.<sup>2</sup>

One last thing remains to be said about the Prefect of Vigiles: he had his head-quarters, it is generally agreed, with the Ist Cohort, as indeed one might naturally expect.

The site of these head-quarters thus introduces the whole subject of the topography of the Vigiles, with which I shall deal in the following chapter.

<sup>1</sup> *Digest*. i. 15; for the anachronism *vide* Mom. *Stsr.* ii, p. 1055, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Paternus, however, Praef. Vig. in 223 at the beginning of Alexander's reign, is called EM • [V]. *C. I. L.* vi. 30960.

### III

#### STATIONS AND EXCUBITORIA

WE have no monumental evidence for the site of the stations of the seven cohorts of Vigiles for more than a century after their establishment.<sup>1</sup>

I have suggested above that originally they occupied private houses taken over by the government for the purpose, but in course of time these must have been replaced by buildings of a more military style. When these buildings were begun we have no idea: the earliest references we have to any constructions are two inscriptions of the Vth Cohort, both referring to aediculae of a century. The earlier is of the year A.D. 113,<sup>2</sup> and the later of 156,<sup>3</sup> but this latter refers to a restoration of an aedacula built in A.D. 111. These two aediculae, erected within three years of each other, are to the genii of different centuries, for not only are the centurions different (which in itself proves nothing, as the Tribunes are also different though the cohort is obviously the same), but in both cases the aedacula is spoken of as something new, and not as a restoration: and there is no hint that they were to replace older aediculae 'vetustate corruptae', or anything of the sort. We thus find two centuries of one cohort erecting aediculae to their own genius within a period of three years: it is possibly rather much to see in this fact an

<sup>1</sup> On this whole subject see de Rossi.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 222.

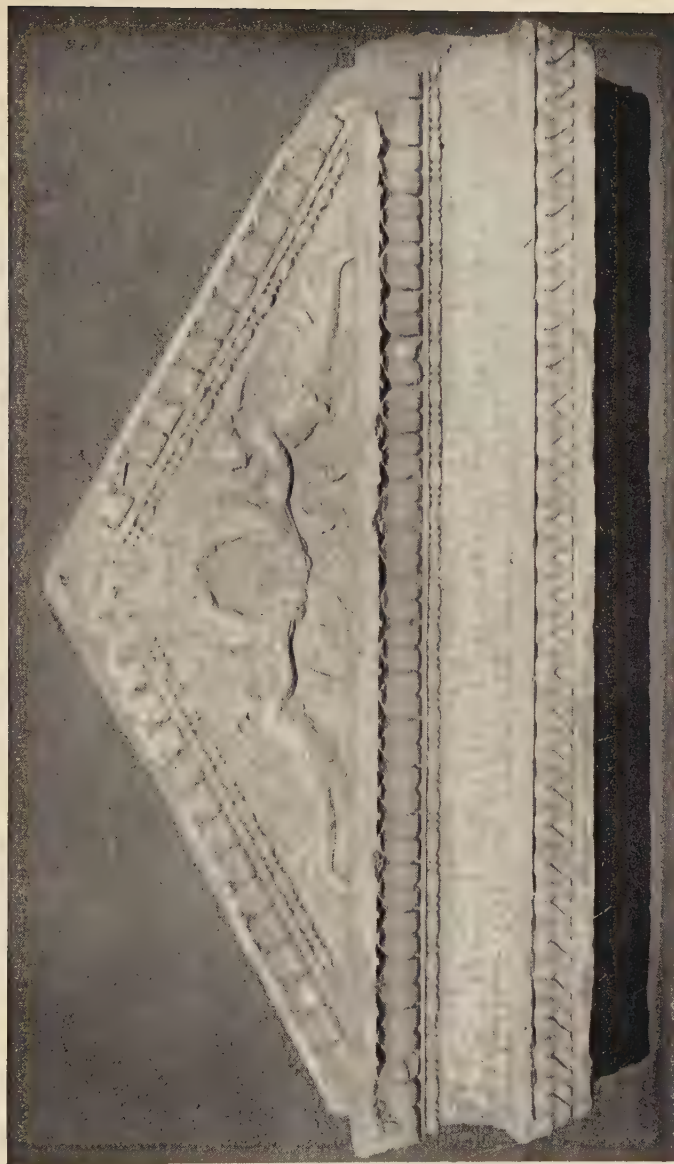
indication that the station of the cohort was only recently constructed, but if such were the case it would fit in well with the activity of the centuries in decorating their new barracks. And that some more pretentious buildings than the original Augustan stations must have been in use in the second century is clear from the restoration carried out to the earlier of these two aediculae in 156: already in the space of forty-five years it was 'vetustate corrupta', and the centurion restored it with porphyry columns and brazen doors 'et omni ornamento a novo' at his own expense.

Again, we find a century of the IVth Cohort erecting an aedicula to its genius in the year 130.<sup>1</sup> This, too, was a marble construction with bronze doors. And whether or not the stations themselves were of the second century A.D., we certainly find building activity on the part of the Vigiles during that period.

But the period when something of great importance occurred in the history of the Vigiles was the reigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. What this event was we cannot say, but it called forth a perfect epidemic of honorary dedications to those emperors, not only at Rome but also at Ostia.<sup>2</sup> These inscriptions are mostly of the years 205 to 210, and it is remarkable that they do not record any constructions on the part of the Vigiles themselves, but are merely honorary dedications

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 219. Plate I.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 195, *C. I. L.* xiv. 13 (Ostia); A.D. 203, Coh. IV, *C. I. L.* vi. 220; A.D. 205, Coh. I, *C. I. L.* vi. 1056; Coh. II, *ib.* 414; date uncertain (cf. *infra*), Coh. IV, *ib.* 643 (contained Plautianus' name, now erased), *ib.* 1055; Coh. V, *ib.* 1057 (probably 205); A.D. 207, *E. E.* vii [1892], 1204, 1205, 1206 (Ostia); A.D. 210, Coh. II, Kell. No. '3, *C. I. L.* vi. 1059; Coh. V, *ib.* 1058; A.D. 211 *E. E.* vii [1892], 1207 (Ostia); A.D. 212, Whole corps, *C. I. L.* vi. 1063; uncertain date, but before the last, *C. I. L.* vi. 1064.



I. PEDIMENT OF AN AEDICULA ERECTED BY A CENTURY OF THE IV<sup>TH</sup> COHORT

Length 3 ft. 6 in. Height 1 ft. 8 in. Rome. Museo delle Terme. *C.I.L.* vi. 219

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to the emperors, as if in gratitude for some benefit conferred by them. It is remarkable, too, that the one dedication to Septimius Severus which records the construction of buildings belongs to the reign of Commodus, and has had Septimius' name substituted for the latter's.<sup>1</sup>

But unless and until further excavation of the sites of the stations is carried out nothing definite can be said as to the dates of these structures, if indeed even excavation would be any use in some cases; for the station of the II<sup>nd</sup> Cohort, for example, was excavated in the second half of the sixteenth century, and 'detecta et deiecta fuit',<sup>2</sup> so that it is doubtful if anything could be discovered by further digging on the site. One station which from all accounts might well repay the trouble of further investigation is that of the I<sup>st</sup> Cohort. It was discovered in the seventeenth century in digging the foundations of the Palazzo Muti Savorelli in the Piazza Santi Apostoli, the identity being fixed by inscriptions found on the spot, and remains of it were again seen in 1852 and 1912.<sup>3</sup> De Rossi says the station 'existed already in the time of Caracalla',<sup>4</sup> and this is obvious from the fact that it appears on a fragment of the marble plan of Septimius Severus,<sup>5</sup> while the earliest inscription of the cohort (of which a copy is to be seen in the garden of the Villa Albani) is of the year 205, and De Rossi shows good reasons for supposing that it also was found on this site.<sup>6</sup> But I can find no statements as to the nature of the brick-

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 424.

<sup>2</sup> De Rossi under Cohh. II and V.

<sup>3</sup> *N. S.* 1912, p. 337, with signs of later alterations.

<sup>4</sup> Under Coh. I.

<sup>5</sup> Jordan, *Forma Urbis*. Plate II *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1056.



work from which to deduce a date, and as the entire area is covered with modern buildings, mostly of beauty and importance, such remains as exist cannot be seen. If it were not for the nature of the building one might say with certainty that it does not date from before the great fire of the reign of Titus, which raged in this part of the Campus Martius, but possibly even if the Vigiles were unable to save the adjacent Saepta they managed to divert the flames from their own quarters. Anyhow, we do not find it mentioned as among the buildings destroyed.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, though, a later date is to be preferred, possibly Trajan, when we have seen there was building activity, but more likely Septimius Severus.

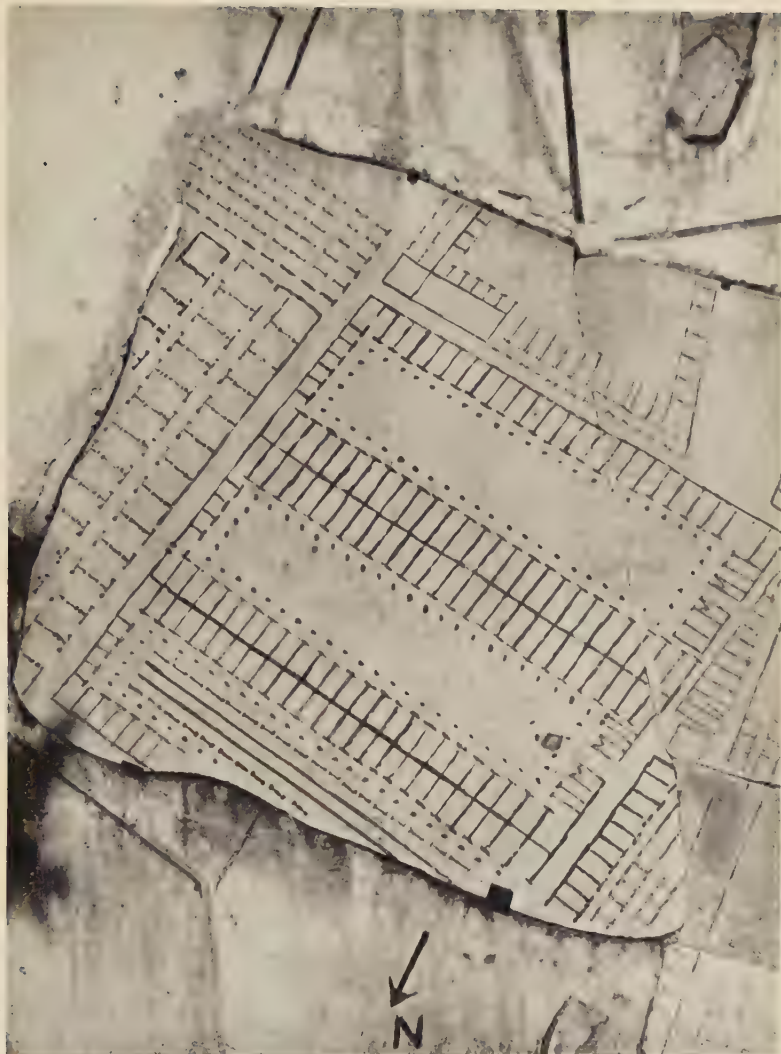
The site of this station, then, is fixed indubitably,<sup>2</sup> and it lies just off the Via Lata (Flaminia—the modern Corso Umberto I), not far outside the ancient Porta Ratumena of the Servian Wall. We have already seen that Augustus most probably put the Vigiles in the same places as the original familia publica, ‘circa portas et muros’, and whatever the date of this building it probably occupies the site of the Augustan station. The Via Lata was the boundary between the Regions VII and IX, and it is thus reasonable to suppose that these were the two for which the Ist Cohort was responsible.<sup>3</sup> The plan of the station is given to us by the marble fragment, and it consisted of three parallel and roughly rectangular courts, each surrounded by rooms. Each court measures about 35 × 135 metres, and the whole building is about 155 × 175 metres. From

<sup>1</sup> Dio, lxvi. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Hülsen (*B. C.* 1893, pp. 131–4) seems to throw some doubt on this identification, besides disagreeing with Lanciani as to dimensions, for which *vide* Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, xv, xvi.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. *infra* on Coh. VII, pp. 55–8.





II. FRAGMENT OF THE MARBLE PLAN SHOWING THE STATION OF  
THE FIRST COHORT OF VIGILES

(The incised lines have been intensified in the print)

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the inscriptions found on the site<sup>1</sup> it seems evident that the Prefect of Vigiles had his head-quarters here, and this will account for the large dimensions of a station for a cohort of just over 1,000 men: we must not suppose the other stations to have been so big.

The IIInd cohort the Notitia<sup>2</sup> places in Region V, Esquiline; inscriptions found on the spot<sup>3</sup> fix the site as on the Via Praenestina, not far from the southern end of the modern Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele. This is some considerable distance from the 'Servian' Wall and from the nearest gate, the Porta Esquilina, and it cannot be said to be anywhere near the boundary between two regions. The second region for which this cohort was responsible is definitely fixed by a process of elimination as being the IIIrd Isis et Serapis, so that it is possible that the site of this station was moved between the times of Augustus and Commodus, to whose reign the earliest inscription of this cohort belongs. Possibly the outward growth of the Vth region was the cause of the removal, if such ever took place; but if so it is curious, as most of the outskirts of the region consisted of large private parks, where one would have supposed that the close proximity of the fire brigade would not have been so necessary as in the more crowded IIIrd region. We again have no material by which to date the construction: the remains

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 233, 1092, 1144, 1157, 1226, and probably 1056, *vide* De Rossi, who also shows fairly conclusively that 1180 and 1181 (though given a different origin in the *Corpus*) came originally from this site.

<sup>2</sup> The Notitia always gives the cardinal numbers for the Vigiles cohorts instead of the ordinal, though in the *Breviarium* at the end the total of seven is correctly given. Kell., p. 3, restored the correct readings. Cf. Preller, *die Regionen der Stadt Rom.*, Jena, 1846.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 414, 1059; also Grutero, 265. 3, = Kell. No. 3.

of the building, such as they were, having apparently been destroyed in the sixteenth century, as related. But our knowledge of the destroyers of that epoch leads us to suppose that sufficient of the concrete foundations may be left to give us some idea of its dimensions, if ever excavation of the site is carried out. All we know of is the shrine of Iuppiter Dolichenus<sup>1</sup> and the nymphaeum mentioned in the inscription, but what connexion, other than the local one, this latter had with the station we cannot say.

It is, of course, just possible that this may have been only an excubitorium, while the actual station was farther in, adjacent to, but outside the Esquiline gate, but in view of the evidence it is safer to accept the identification which has been that generally received since the sixteenth century. But one would like to know why this one station was so far out.

The Notitia places the IIIrd cohort in Region VI, Alta Semita, but so far no inscriptions of the cohort as a whole have been discovered which would allow of any definite identification of the site. In 1873, however, an honorary dedication to Septimius Severus, erected by T. Flavius Magnus, Prefect of Vigiles,<sup>2</sup> was discovered in a chamber at the eastern angle of the baths of Diocletian. This inscription is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori Museum on the Capitol, and its position when found made it probable that it had not been moved, but had simply fallen from its original setting. There is nothing in the inscription itself to suggest the IIIrd cohort, but the discovery of a monument of a Prefect on

<sup>1</sup> For the inscriptions to Dolichenus and the connexion of this shrine with the Praetorians *vide* B. C. 1875, pp. 204-220, and 83-117. Cf. *infra*, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. L. vi. 3761; Lanciani, B. C. 1873, p. 250.

a site within the VIth region, and moreover immediately adjacent not only to the Porta Viminalis of the Servian Wall, but also to the boundary between that region and the IVth (for which the IIIrd cohort was also responsible), naturally led to the supposition that the position of the station of that cohort had been found. In fact, if one had had to guess the probable site of the barracks of the IIIrd cohort, one would naturally have selected this spot, as it fulfils all the conditions previously noted as to the location of the various divisions of Vigiles.

During the same excavations, but slightly later, a cistern was found and a courtyard, some 12 metres wide, paved with marble, and with rooms opening off it: this courtyard opens directly on to the street running parallel to the agger of the Servian Wall in a north-westerly direction, and the cells were lit by slit windows like those to be seen in the Vigiles Barracks at Ostia. These were all of the ruins found in the neighbourhood which could be attributed to the station, and their smallness, combined with the narrowness of the space between the baths of Diocletian and the road which issued from the Porta Viminalis, led Lanciani to suggest that this may have been only an excubitorium, not a station.<sup>1</sup>

The area available between the walls of the *Thermae*, the streets, and the *Piscina* is not much more than 2,500 square yards, and that of irregular shape, so that there is certainly not much room for a station for a cohort of 1,000 men. But one must remember, firstly, that we know nothing beyond some rather wild statements of Ligorio and others as to the size of these stations of the Vigiles, except of that of the Ist cohort,

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani, *B. C.* 1876, p. 174; cf. *Forma Urbis*, sheet xvii: for Ostia, *vide infra*, p. 108, and Plate VII.

which was to my mind exceptionally big ; and, secondly, that portions of the station may have been demolished for the building of Diocletian's baths, for certainly many other buildings were :<sup>1</sup> in which case the cohort may have been moved.

That the station was somewhere near the *Thermae* of Diocletian is to some extent (though no great one) supported by the fact that in the *Curiosum Urbis* it is mentioned immediately after the said baths, though in the more detailed *Notitia* it is not so. And if we assume that the station was moved when the baths were built, this must refer to its new site : Preller,<sup>2</sup> indeed, seems to argue from this order that the site must have been to the north-west of the baths, in the neighbourhood of the church of S. Susanna. Another inscription mentioning *Vigiles*, but with no cohort number, was found in 1875 at the point of junction of the modern *Via Nazionale* and *Via XXIV Maggio*, at which spot considerable remains of a building of the middle of the second century were discovered, which were identified with the *X Tabernae*, which also belong to the VIth region in the *Notitia*.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the facts that the plan of this building is very similar to that of the station of the Ist cohort, and that it is quite close to the Servian Wall and to the boundary of the VIth and IVth regions, and that one fragmentary inscription of the force was found there, there is no reason whatever to place the site of the station here, for it is far too close to that of the Ist cohort.

On the whole, then, in view of the lack of further evidence, the station of the IIIrd cohort may be placed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *R. and E.* i. § 28—For size, cf. the area of the Barracks at Ostia, nearly 3,500 sq. yds. for 600 men, *infra*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3908 ; *B. C.* 1876, p. 107.



provisionally on the spot where the remains described by Lanciani were discovered: it is unfortunate that he gives no indication of the nature or date of the brick-work, and as the ruins were destroyed<sup>1</sup> for the passage of the new aqueduct then under construction, nothing further can be known.

The reasons which induced the Prefect Magnus to erect his votive statue to Septimius in the station of the IIIrd cohort instead of that of the Ist, which is assumed to be the head-quarters, cannot be known. Possibly he put one up in each station; and possibly again the remains discovered are those of his private house and not of a building connected with the Vigiles at all.

With the IVth cohort we get on to firmer ground. The Notitia places it in the XIIth region, Piscina Publica. Inscriptions of it have been found on the Aventine,<sup>2</sup> in the neighbourhood of the church of S. Saba, and de Rossi gives good reasons for supposing that the bronze tablet<sup>3</sup> in the Palazzo dei Conservatori Museum also came from there, while he quotes another from a fifteenth-century MS.<sup>4</sup> Further excavations in the years 1901-2 brought to light a fragment of a list of N.C.O.'s of some military force, obviously Vigiles, actually under S. Saba, while remains of buildings were also discovered,<sup>5</sup> but among the various walls

<sup>1</sup> *B. C.* 1876, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 219 (Plate I). Now in the Cloister of the Museo delle Terme, Rome. *C. I. L.* vi. 643, said to be in the pavement of S. Alessio. Kell. (p. 35, No. 38) says he was unable to find it; nor have I had greater success.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 220; de Rossi, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1055; de Rossi, pp. 24, 25. Said to be in S. Saba to the right of the High Altar: it does not seem to have been found in the excavations of 1901-2.

<sup>5</sup> *B. C.* 1902, p. 204; *N. S.* 1901, p. 10; 1902, pp. 27, 465.

unearthed under the pavement of the church there was nothing which could be put down, from accounts published, to the station of the cohort.

S. Saba is immediately adjacent to the 'Servian' Wall, of which a large piece can still be seen quite near by in the Via di Porta S. Paolo, and on this road must have been the Porta Rudusculana. Moreover this road, the Vicus Piscinae Publicae, seems to have been the boundary at its upper end between Regions XI and XII, and at its lower between XII and XIII. Thus the site of S. Saba is quite a likely one for a station of a cohort, and if this location is right we must assume that the second region for which the IVth cohort was responsible was the XIIIth Aventinus, and not the XIth Circus Maximus, as given by Preller. There are also other considerations tending towards this grouping which will be mentioned in connexion with the VIIth cohort.

The fifth station, says de Rossi, 'is the only one which has always been known up to the present day'.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the two inscriptions of aediculae of centuries already mentioned<sup>2</sup> which belong to this cohort, and whose origin was known from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, the two great marble statue bases, with complete rolls of the cohort inscribed on them, were found in situ in 1820.<sup>3</sup> The spot where this discovery was made was just inside the gates of the Villa Mattei on the Celian, in the IIInd region, where the Notitia places the Vth cohort, and is moreover immediately adjacent to the Servian Wall, and probably to a gate of unknown name in the same, and in close proximity to the boundary of the Ist region, Porta Capena, for which we may assume this cohort

<sup>1</sup> P. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 222, 221. Cf. *supra*, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1057, 1058, on which see Kell.

was also responsible. The few remains discovered in 1820 are now no longer visible, and the bases have been moved from their original site. There are some remains of Roman work in the garden of the villa south of the entrance; these are concrete walls faced with the thin yellowish brick of Severan date, but whether or not they had anything to do with the station one cannot say; the fact that they are outside the line of the Servian Wall<sup>1</sup> is possibly against such a supposition, but one does not know what had happened to that wall by the end of the second century. A sixteenth-century document, written in Latin,<sup>2</sup> gives an elaborate and highly imaginative account of what purport to be the remains of this station, but as the site does not correspond with the discovery of 1820, and the centre of the whole is apparently made to be the aedicula described in *C. I. L.* vi. 222, which is of a single century only, there is some reasonable doubt as to its veracity. It also preserves the error of the *Notitia* and places five cohorts in the station instead of the Vth, but at the same time the mention in it of the discovery and destruction of the station of the IInd cohort on the Esquiline shows that in some respects at least it is reliable. De Rossi was inclined to suspect that Ligorio was the originator of this account, and Hülsen<sup>3</sup> has proved this to be the case.

That Ligorio was giving rein to his imagination is shown by his plan of the adjacent *Castra Peregrina*, in which the church of S. Stefano Rotondo is made a

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, sheet xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> De Rossi, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Hülsen, 'La Pianta di Roma dell' Anonimo Einsidlense', *Atti dell' Accademia Romana di Archaeologia*, vol. ix (2nd series) (1907), p. 412.

temple in the centre of one courtyard, and that of S. Maria in Dominica another. This arrangement includes in the Castra Peregrina the site where the two inscriptions were found in the garden of the Villa Mattei: but excavations south-east of S. Stefano have shown that there is some foundation for Ligorio's fancies.<sup>1</sup>

The VIth cohort, according to the Notitia, was in Region VIII, Forum Romanum, and presumably was also responsible for the Xth, the Palatine. As no monuments of this cohort have been found, it is not known where its station was situated, but it can be said for certain that it was not anywhere in the area which has now been excavated. There only remain three possible sites: first, on the Capitol, which is highly improbable; secondly, the corner south-west of the Basilica Julia;<sup>2</sup> and thirdly, in the region of the Imperial Fora. The order of the Notitia seems to indicate the last of these districts, for both it and the *Curiosum Urbis* mention the station between Trajan's column and the Basilica Argentaria, the next in order in each case being the Temple of Concord. The site of the Basilica Argentaria is at present unknown, but in the Middle Ages, at any rate, the road leading over the northern spur of the Capitoline Hill between it and the Forum of Trajan was known as the *Clivus Argentarius*.<sup>3</sup> But there is no room anywhere in this neighbourhood for so large a building as a station of a cohort of Vigiles within the boundaries of the VIIIth region, unless those boundaries were different from those which have usually

<sup>1</sup> Ashby, *Classical Review*, xix (1905), p. 328. *J.R.S.* xiii, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lanciani, *N.S.* 1889, p. 39, 'gli alloggiamenti della quale (sc. Coh. VI.) si crede stessero in vicinanza della nostra piazza della Consolazione.'

<sup>3</sup> Gilbert, iii. 228-9.

been supposed. In any case a station here would be too close to that of the Ist cohort, and not on the boundary between the two regions it commanded. Preller seems to suggest that this last would not have been necessary, as, in view of the numbers of imperial slaves and the Praetorian cohort on duty on the Palatine, Vigiles would not be required in that region. Possibly this applies to them in their role of policemen, but for any fire in the imperial palace one would imagine that all the assistance that could be obtained would have been summoned to fight it.

At present, then, one cannot place the station of the VIth cohort; one can only await with interest the result of excavations behind the Basilica Julia, excavations which the moving of the modern entrance to the Forum to the Via Cavour leads one to hope may shortly be undertaken.

The VIIth cohort had its station in the XIVth region, Trans Tiberim, which also included the island of the Tiber. As to the second region for which it was responsible there seems some doubt. Both Lanciani<sup>1</sup> and Stuart Jones,<sup>2</sup> following Henzen,<sup>3</sup> assign the IXth region to it. This opinion is based on one of the graffiti<sup>4</sup> on the walls of the Trans Tiberim Excubitorium of the cohort, which mentions the *Thermae Neronianae*.

The inscription in question reads:

COHOR· VIGUL NIIRON  
7 FAVSTIN HARIVS FRVMIINTARI CH·VII·VIG  
7 FAVSTINI TIIRMIS NIIR  
HARIVS PRIMVS

This is sufficiently dubious, but from it Henzen

<sup>1</sup> *R. and E.* iv, § lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Classical Rome*, ch. xii, pp. 269, 270.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann.* 1874, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3052.



deduces that the VIIth cohort also had an excubitorium in or adjacent to the baths of Nero, later called of Alexander, in the IXth region, and that therefore the IXth region was the second of the two patrolled by that cohort. One needs must have weighty reasons to differ from such authority, but apart from the fact that there is nothing in the inscription as it stands to justify the hypothesis of an excubitorium, fairly convincing arguments against such a theory can be raised.

If we assign the IXth region to the VIIth cohort, what becomes of the Ist cohort? This latter cohort was certainly stationed in Region VII; now this VIIth region only touches three others, the IXth, the VIth, and the VIIIth, in both of which latter there is the station of another cohort, the IIIrd and the VIth respectively.<sup>1</sup> The second region for which the Ist cohort was responsible can therefore only be the IXth.

The XIVth region, on the contrary, touches—with the intervention of the river—the IXth, the XIth, and the XIIth, in none of which is there another cohort. In assigning a second region, then, to this VIIth cohort any one will surely agree that it would have been the height of folly to select from these three the one which obviously fell to the Ist cohort. For if the IXth region went with the XIVth the only one which could conceivably fall to the Ist cohort is the XIth, and thus to check an outbreak of fire in the Circus Maximus the Vigiles would have either to surmount or to circumvent the Capitol, the efficacy of which as a barrier modern

<sup>1</sup> It is true that the numbers of the cohorts vary in the MSS. of Notitia, one of which puts Coh. VII in Region VII, but that does not affect the argument. The point is that there is a cohort in each of these regions.



visitors to Rome well appreciate when they wish to get from the Corso to the Palatine.

What this inscription does refer to one cannot say. We know Alexander Severus restored the baths of Nero, and that they were thereafter called Alexandrine,<sup>1</sup> but we do not know why they needed restoration. Possibly they were burned down, and the fire being serious the assistance of the VIIth cohort was required to get the flames under control; possibly, again, all the cohorts sent contingents to assist, and the man Harius facetiously dubbed the whole force Vigiles Neroniani. But this is mere guess-work.

If the VIIth cohort did not also patrol the IXth region we have to discover which was the second for which it was responsible. There remain the XIth and the XIIIth. Preller selects the latter. Now we have seen that the station of the IVth cohort is so situated (if the location is right) that the XIIIth region obviously comes within its sphere, and there is very strong ground for supposing that it could not come under the VIIth cohort.

The XIVth and XIIIth regions are connected by one bridge, the lowest of the eight given in the *Notitia*, which calls it *Pons Probi*. The question of the identification of this bridge is a very doubtful one. We find several references in Symmachus<sup>2</sup> to a *Pons Theodosii*, which was certainly the lowest, and crossed the river under the Aventine in the neighbourhood of the *Marmorata*. This may be the *Pons Probi*, or it may not; the question is not one which need concern us here; in any case this bridge is late, dating either from the latter half of the third century or from the end of the fourth. We

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Augg. Vit. Alex.* 25. 3. Cf. also *Notitia*, Reg. IX.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.* iv. 70. 2, v. 76. 3.

cannot then suppose that, in the allocation of the regions to the cohorts, Augustus would have made the VIIth responsible for two regions which were not even connected by a bridge; such an arrangement would have been too stupid.

It remains, then, to suppose that the second region looked after by this cohort was the XIth, which was connected with the XIVth in earlier times certainly by the Pons Sublicius and later by another, possibly the Aemilius, but again the question of identification does not concern us here.

The main station of this cohort was in the Trans Tiberim district, but its exact site is not known. It was for some time supposed that the church of S. Salvatore in Corte indicated it, the title in Corte being supposed to be derived from Cohors. Lanciani shows that a similar name attached to other churches in medieval Rome is derived from 'curtis',<sup>1</sup> but that does not make it impossible that in this case it came from cohors. The point can only be settled by excavation.

When the Excubitorium of this cohort, described below, was discovered in 1866, P. E. Visconti held it to be the station, and as late as 1873 he still spoke of it as such, thinking that the building extended from the site excavated to the church of S. Salvatore.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, well established by Henzen<sup>3</sup> that the remains in question belong to an Excubitorium. He has been followed by all subsequent authorities, and so one must be content to admit that the site of the station of the VIIth cohort is still unknown; and there is nothing here to guide

<sup>1</sup> *R. and E.* iv, § lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> *La Stazione della Coorte VII dei Vigili*, P. E. Visconti, Rome, 1867. Cf. *B. C.* 1873, p. 157, foot-note.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull.* 1867, pp. 12-30; *ib.* 1874, p. 116.



III. THE EXCUBITORIUM OF THE VII<sup>TH</sup> COHORT  
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one in any conjecture, as, of course, there was no 'Servian' Wall on the right bank of the Tiber.

We have seen above that the Notitia speaks of fourteen Excubitoria of Vigiles, and that there is therefore a strong presumption that there was one in each region; but this in the Trans Tiberim district is the only one hitherto discovered.

It appears to have been originally, as has already been said, a private house dating from the reign of Hadrian,<sup>1</sup> though Lanciani says that the beautiful aedicula (Plate III) is 'one of the most perfect specimens of ornamental brickwork of the time of Severus and Caracalla'.<sup>2</sup> Excavation on the site has unhappily ceased, and not enough has been done to give any adequate idea of the arrangements of the post; it is not even clear, for example, if the marble-lined bath shown on the plan belongs to the same building or not.

The building must have been considerably altered when it was taken over (at latest under Caracalla) for use by the Vigiles, but one cannot say to what extent till more of it has been excavated. Of this there seems little prospect; while the part cleared upwards of half a century ago seems in danger of being filled up again, if it continues to be used as a rubbish-heap for the surrounding houses.

The chief interest of the ruins, however, lies in the numerous inscriptions scratched on the plaster of the walls.<sup>3</sup> With the body of these we are not concerned for the moment, though there will be something to be said of them later: it is sufficient to remark that COH VII

<sup>1</sup> Pellegrini, *Bull.* 1867, pp. 8-12.

<sup>2</sup> *R. and E.*, p. 549. The brickwork has been largely restored.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 2998-3091. Also three others 'non essendo pubblicati nel corpus' in Capannari, *B. C.* 1886, pp. 268, 269.

VIG occurs with such frequency as to leave no room for doubt that the building belonged to that cohort.

Only one needs any special mention at this point,<sup>1</sup> and this one is of great importance, for, as Henzen points out, it decides the question of the identity of the building, for in it the writer returns thanks to the **GENIUS ESCVBITORI** for the safe performance of the duty of *Sebaciaria*.<sup>2</sup>

No other Excubitoria are known for certain, but one or two possible sites may be mentioned; generally speaking, any spot on which any epigraphical record of the Vigiles is found is suggested as the position of one of these guard-houses.

As has already been said, an inscription of the Vigiles was found in the VIth region at the junction of the Via Nazionale and the Via XXIV Maggio,<sup>3</sup> and this may indicate the site of the excubitorium of that region, manned by the IIIrd cohort.

Again, the inscription of the Fullones case may indicate the site of another excubitorium.<sup>4</sup> It was found behind the church of S. Antonio, near the Servian Wall, i.e. on the Esquiline in the IVth region; and if, as has been suggested, the Vigiles were concerned in this case because it affected the water-supply, it may well be that there was here an excubitorium which had a prior claim on the water for fire-fighting. This is, of course, only a conjecture, but it does account for the case being brought before the Prefect of Vigiles when *prima facie* it does not come within his province.

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3010. (Cf. also the rather dubious No. 3089).

<sup>2</sup> This, of course, need not decide the point. A man might write on the wall of the Station his thanks to the Genius of the Excubitorium in which he was posted when he performed the duty, whatever it was.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 266.



It is possible, too, that there may have been an excubitorium on the spot where the inscription of Graecinius Laco was found ; where exactly the discovery was made, however, one cannot say, as the notices of it only say vaguely 'in the neighbourhood of the Villa Ludovisi'.<sup>1</sup> At any rate, this would appear to be in the VIth region, and as we already have one conjectural site for an excubitorium in this region one or other must be wrong, or even both.

This inscription is peculiar, and as its peculiarity may refer to excubitoria, I will mention it here. It reads *LACO PRAEF·VIG·XIII* : the question is what the XIII refers to. It can hardly mean XIIIth prefect, as the office was only instituted in A.D. 6, and Laco held it in A.D. 31, which gives the previous twelve prefects just two years apiece, and this is unlikely. On the other hand, it is unlikely that it means 'for the thirteenth time', i.e. that Laco held office for thirteen years ; for even if two years is too short a period, thirteen is too long.<sup>2</sup> It has therefore been suggested that a statue of Laco was set up in each of the fourteen excubitoria (the inscription is from a statue base), and that the XIII is the number of the excubitorium.<sup>3</sup> This is a possible hypothesis, but one can conceive of no system of numbering which would bring excubitorium No. 13

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* 31857, 'negli sterri per le nuove strade del quartiere di villa Ludovisi.' *N. S.* 1889, p. 105 ; *B. C.* 1889, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> The office of Prefect of Vigiles was not one which was held at the beginning of the career ; this is certainly true of later times, and by inference also of earlier : thus if Laco had held the office for thirteen years on his promotion in A.D. 31, he must have been quite an old man when he was given consular insignia by Claudius more than ten years later. Which, though it does not rule out this explanation, makes it very improbable.

<sup>3</sup> *B. C.* 1889, p. 152.

in Region No. VI; there being fourteen excubitoria, one would naturally suppose that they were numbered according to the regions in which they were situated.

Again, the fact that a statue base inscribed with Laco's name was found in this place does not prove that there was a building connected with the Vigiles on the site. The statue may have belonged to a private collection, and possibly the XIII is a catalogue number!

As regards further excubitoria, we have already seen that there is no ground for stating that there was one at the baths of Nero, but mention must be made of the supposed site of one in the Forum Romanum. Boni<sup>1</sup> identifies the small brick edifice opposite the Heroon of Divus Romulus as part of an excubitorium, and connects it with the succession of small cells partly under the said Heroon on the opposite side of the Via Sacra. These cells he holds to be a prison,<sup>2</sup> and he considers it eminently suitable that there should be a police-station and cells at the entrance of the Forum—for adjacent to this spot stood the Fornix Fabianus, which was always considered the beginning of the Forum proper.

Most other scholars, however, do not accept either of these identifications,<sup>3</sup> largely because the supposed prison shows no traces of ever having had doors to its cells, and the only evidence for the excubitorium appears to be the fact that the building in question had slit windows like those found in the barracks of the Vigiles at Ostia.

<sup>1</sup> *N. S.* 1899, p. 267: 'un excubitorium imperiale, sulla Via Sacra, di fronte al tempio di Romolo.' *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze*, April, 1903, vol. v, § iv, p. 570, 'Quell' imperiale laterizio edificio, che di fronte all' heroon di Romolo, ricco di ferritoie ed altri vani, palesamente mostravasi avanzo di un corpo di guardia.' See Plate IV.

<sup>2</sup> *N. S.* 1902, p. 96; *Atti del. C. loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Vaglieri, however (*B. C.* 1902, p. 31), agrees.



IV. SLIT WINDOW IN THE SUPPOSED EXCUBITORIUM IN THE FORUM

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But as it has been restored and roofed over, and is now used as some sort of storehouse, these features cannot be clearly seen. The remains are of Septimian brick-work, as one would naturally expect, when one remembers that the adjacent house of the Vestals was burned down in the reign of Commodus ; but the evidence is too slight to allow of a definite acceptance of the identification as an excubitorium, though there must have been an excubitorium somewhere in the Forum or adjacent to it.

But it is worth noting that an inscription,<sup>1</sup> apparently of Vigiles, was found in 1876 in front of the Temple of Faustina, which fact is some slight confirmation of Boni's identification.

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3909.

## IV

### CONDITIONS OF SERVICE. OFFICERS AND N.C.O.s.

THE original force of Vigiles, as we have seen, was recruited from freedmen,<sup>1</sup> who apparently acquired the *Ius Latinum* by enlistment; its men thus occupied a different position from that of the milites of the Legions and the other city troops.

As time went on, however, the positions were gradually equalized, and by the third century, when the other troops were allowed to call themselves after the reigning Emperor, we find the Vigiles enjoying the same honour. We meet the names Antoniniana under Caracalla<sup>2</sup> and under Heliogabalus,<sup>3</sup> Severiana<sup>4</sup> and possibly Mammeana<sup>5</sup> under Alexander, Gordiana,<sup>6</sup> and Philippiana.<sup>7</sup>

Werner, it seems to me, is quite wrong in saying that these titles were reserved for Cohorts I and VII. It so happens that these are the only cohorts of whose use of the titles we have record, but such a distinction is

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 23; Dio, lv. 26; Strabo, v. 3. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3002, and a later insertion on 1056 (which is probably only a copy, not an original).

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 2999, 3057, 3060, 3065, 3068, 3079; Capannari, *B. C.* 1886, p. 268, No. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 2998, 3000, 3001, 3004, 3005, 3008, 3021, 3032, 3034, 3050.

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3008.

<sup>6</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1092 (3038), 3081. Capannari, *loc. cit.* No. 5; *E. E.* vii. 1211.

<sup>7</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3028.



contrary to the practice of the rest of the army, and is disproved in the case of Gordian III by two inscriptions which mention **COHH · VIG · GORDIANAE**.<sup>1</sup>

We may now trace this gradual promotion of the Corps of Vigiles. What the length of service was we do not know, and one must remember, in arguing from the conditions affecting the rest of the army to the Vigiles, that the latter were not strictly a military corps at all at first, though it is true Strabo calls it *στρατιωτικόν*. The men were, however, apparently milites in that they were paid by the *aerarium militare*; <sup>2</sup> but whether the force as originally constituted took a military oath or not is uncertain. When first formed the Vigiles must have been of a somewhat similar standing to the Imperial fleets of Misenum and Ravenna, and we may presume that the men retained the same status throughout their service and acquired the citizenship on their discharge, as the sailors did. The men of the fleets served twenty-six years before their *honesta missio*,<sup>3</sup> and we may with probability suppose that the Vigiles did so too at first.<sup>4</sup> But the subsequent changes in the constitution of the corps may have produced different conditions and a shorter term of service: it may later have become the twenty years of the legionaries, while Domaszewski seems to deduce from the two nominal rolls of the Vth cohort that by the time of Septimius Severus it was

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1092; *E. E.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Dio, lv. 31.

<sup>3</sup> For *honesta missio*, *C. I. L.* iii, p. 844. Diplomata: for twenty-six years, Nos. viii, xiii, &c.; for twenty-eight years (under Philip and under Decius), Nos. liii, lvi. For a connexion between the Vigiles and the Fleets cf. *C. I. L.* vi. 1063, 1064.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *C. I. L.* vi. 2966. A sepulchral slab of a man of the II<sup>nd</sup> cohort who 'militavit annos XXII'. It proves nothing, as men often served beyond the regulation period; he is not, however, styled *Emeritus*. Date uncertain.

the sixteen years of the Praetorians.<sup>1</sup> For in later times the Vigiles were certainly milites in the full sense of the term, as were the men of the fleets. Ulpian states this quite clearly:<sup>2</sup> 'in classibus omnes remiges et nautae milites sunt; item Vigiles milites sunt, et iure militari eos testari posse nulla dubitatio est.' But the very fact that there can have been any question on the subject shows that the position of the Vigiles was not so certain and well known as that of the other troops, and probably also that at one time their status was different.

It seems that there must have been some difficulty in recruiting for the Vigiles in the first years of their existence; the duties were arduous, the prospects of promotion small, the service probably long, and the reputation of the corps apparently poor. At any rate, in the reign of Tiberius it was found necessary to add some inducement, and in A.D. 24 a Lex Visellia was passed by which the men of the Vigiles acquired the full citizenship after six years' service in the corps. This we learn from Ulpian, who says 'Militia ius Quiritium accipit Latinus (si) inter Vigiles Romae sex annos militaverit, ex lege Visellia, praeterea ex senatus consulto concessum est ei ut si triennium inter Vigiles militaverit ius Quiritium consequatur'.<sup>3</sup> This is almost a verbatim quotation from Gaius,<sup>4</sup> but with the addition

<sup>1</sup> *Rang.*, p. 7, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Digest*, xxxvii. 13. 1. Cf. also *ib.* xlvi. 5. 15, 'Qui in vigilibus . . . militat.'

<sup>3</sup> Ulpian, fr. 3. § 5. The date A.D. 24 is given without question by Huschke (Ulpian, Teubner Text, *ad loc.*), Cagnat (in Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v.* Vigiles), by Henzen (*Bull.* 1874, p. 111-163), by Marquardt (*Stswtg.* ii. 469, note 4), &c. It apparently rests solely on the fact that the consul of the year was L. Visellius Varro (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 17).

<sup>4</sup> Gaius, *Inst.* i. 32 b. The actual date of this passage is not determined, but the phraseology leads one to suppose that the S. C.

of the name of the law. The chief difference in phraseology is that Gaius says 'postea dicitur factum esse SC': thus giving one the impression that he was not very certain about it. It is worth remarking, too, that both Gaius and Ulpian use the present tense of the six years' law. In spite of Gaius' dubious words, however, we have epigraphic evidence of the senatus consultum being in force in the reign of Septimius Severus in the bronze tablet in the Palazzo dei Conservatori Museum.<sup>1</sup> This was erected in A. D. 203 to record the admission to the citizenship of sixteen men of the second century of the IVth cohort, who enlisted in the latter half of A. D. 199 and the first months of 200.

Of the sixteen men whose names are given only five are freedmen, so that at some time during these two centuries the recruiting for the corps was thrown open to men of free birth.<sup>2</sup> When exactly this happened we do not know; we can only say for certain that it was before A. D. 166, for which year we have epigraphic evidence<sup>3</sup> of free-born men in the Vigiles, but from the proportion of one freedman to ten freeborn we may

in question was not passed in Gaius' lifetime. This gives us a *terminus ad quem* for the measure: one may suggest the reign of Trajan, as we have seen activity of the Vigiles at that time; or possibly it was the work of Vespasian as a reward for the Vigiles' support of Flavius Sabinus in A. D. 69. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* iii. 64, 69. That the Vigiles had attained more or less of an equality with the other troops by the reign of Antoninus Pius is suggested by *C. I. L.* xi. 5693, recording the promotion of a Cornicularius Praefecti Vigilum to Centurion of a Legion. The man in question, however, was the first to be so promoted, which fact may indicate recent changes in the status of the force.

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dio, iv. 26, καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν οἱ νυκτοφύλακες . . . οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔτι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατευόμενοι.

<sup>3</sup> *A. E.* 1912, No. 230.

suppose that the rule had already been in operation for some time.

Possibly the same Lex Visellia which conferred citizenship after six years' service also allowed free-born men to enlist; for if it was difficulties in recruiting which prompted the passing of the law, the latter would have been as obvious a remedy as the former.

At any rate we know that freeborn men were enlisted in considerable numbers by the middle of the second century, and by that time, too, on attaining citizenship, the men were admitted to the free distribution of grain: the letters F. P. A.—*frumentum publicum accepit*—thus became the usual formula for denoting the promotion to the *ius Quiritium*.<sup>1</sup>

One may assume that originally the Vigiles paid for their rations, as it appears that all the army did;<sup>2</sup> and possibly the admission of them to *frumentum publicum* on attaining citizenship is an indication that by that time all the regular army received rations at public expense; Nero made a beginning in the case of the Praetorians.<sup>3</sup>

What the Vigiles' pay was is unknown, but it was probably less than that of the Legionaries; and though it may have been increased in proportion by the changes

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 220; *A. E.* 1912, 230, 239. Cf. *C. I. L.* vi. 3001, 3011. On the citizenship of the Vigiles *vide* Mom. *Stsr.* ii. 893, iii. 786. Naudet (*Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Ins. et Belles-Lettres*, 1875, pp. 148-9) seems to assume that the Vigiles obtained their discharge with the admission to *Frumentum Publicum*: an unwarranted assumption.

<sup>2</sup> The Egyptian Papyrus (Geneva) of A. D. 81 shows deductions from pay for rations. (Nicole and Mores, *Archives Militaires du I<sup>er</sup> siècle*, I, col. a. *Klio*, 1902. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxxii, p. 449, &c.) Cf. the silence as to rations of Tac. *Ann.* i. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xv. 72.

under Domitian,<sup>1</sup> there is no reason to suppose that it was brought up to the legionary standard.

The effect of all these measures was inevitably to bring the Vigiles more into line with the other troops, and to open the way for transfer from the force to the other corps of the army.<sup>2</sup>

The officers, Tribunes and Centurions, were apparently always on the same footing as those of the army proper, and were not, of course, freedmen.<sup>3</sup> Though the Vigiles occupied a junior position, the commissioned ranks of the force still took a regular place in the scheme of promotion.

Thus, to quote an early example, Gavius Silvanus, after rising to Primipilarius of Legion VIII Augusta, was promoted Tribune of the IInd cohort of Vigiles, thence to the command of an Urban cohort, and from that position to the tribunate of the XIIth Praetorian cohort, which rank he held at the time of his taking part in the conspiracy of Piso in A. D. 65.<sup>4</sup>

So, too, Centurions were promoted, and one may quote an example from the reign of Septimius Severus of a Centurion of Vigiles who was promoted successively to the centurionate of the Urban troops, of the Praetorians, and of Legion XX, Valeria Victrix, at Chester.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *Dom.* 7, 'addidit et quartum stipendium militi aureos ternos.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *C. I. L.* vi. 2780 of one L. Musius October, who, after serving seven years in the Vigiles, transferred to the Praetorians, and after five years was promoted Centurion in Leg. III Augusta. Date uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *C. I. L.* vi. 2993, of a Centurion of the time of Tiberius who is not a freedman.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* v. 7003. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 50 seq.

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. L.* x. 5064, of A. D. 208. Cf. also xiv. 3626, of a soldier of the Praetorians who went through both centurionate and tribunate of all the city troops.



These examples are taken quite at random, and there is abundant epigraphic evidence, all of which confirms this rule of promotion. Some of the Prefects of Vigiles, too, climbed by this ladder, and at one time were Tribunes of cohorts in the force over which they subsequently held the chief command.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, it seems that the commissioned ranks of the Vigiles were very little more than stepping-stones to more honourable (and probably more lucrative) posts, if one may judge from the length of time the positions seem to have been held. It has already been remarked that the Vth cohort had different Tribunes in A.D. 111 and in 113,<sup>2</sup> while the same applies to the IVth in A.D. 203 and 205.<sup>3</sup>

These two cases, of course, may be only coincidences, but we have a very striking example of the brevity of tenure of office, this time by Centurions, in the two nominal rolls of the Vth cohort.<sup>4</sup> There is probably not more than five years between these two rolls, and many of the same men appear in both, yet all the seven Centurions are different in the two cases. These three examples, taken together, lead to a very strong presumption that, at any rate in the second and third

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1599, Bassaeus Rufus. (Praef. Ann. in the *Corpus* is shown to be a wrong restoration for Praef. Vig. by *A. E.* 1912, 239.) *C. I. L.* xi. 1582, Rustius Rufinus; xi. 1836, Volusianus.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 43; *C. I. L.* vi. 222, 221.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 220, 643. The date of the latter is uncertain, but it is after Caracalla's elevation to Augustus, and before the fall of Plautianus in 205. On 205 for dedications *vide* p. 44, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1057, 1058. N.B. also in the graffiti of the VIIth cohort we find twelve different Centurions mentioned by name in the ten years A.D. 220-230. On the contrary, however, Victor is Centurion in Coh. VII in A.D. 212 (*C. I. L.* vi. 1063), and still in 220 (*ib.* 3068). So too Avitus (*C. I. L.* vi. 1064, *cir.* 215) still is Centurion in 221 (*ib.* 3058).





V. STATUE BASE DEDICATED BY THE V<sup>TH</sup> COHORT  
TO CARACALLA IN A. D. 210

The sides and back of this stone are inscribed with the  
nominal roll of the Cohort. *C.I.L.* vi. 1053

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centuries, the officers of the Vigiles did not stay long in their jobs before promotion.

These two nominal rolls of the Vth cohort, together with a similar incomplete one of the Ist cohort,<sup>1</sup> give us abundant information as to the internal organization of a cohort.

The two former have been treated with great minuteness by Kellermann in his monograph on the subject, and much of his detail has been repeated in the *Corpus*, so that there is no necessity for a further repetition here ; much of the detail, too, as to transfers of individual men and the like, is outside the scope of the present essay, which only deals with the wider facts of which Kellermann's minutiae are the illustration.

The cohort of Vigiles, then, consisted of upwards of 1,000 men of all ranks,<sup>2</sup> and, unlike the usual cohorts miliaria of the Praetorians, Urban troops, and Auxiliaries, was organized in seven centuries. This may have been arranged deliberately to emphasize the non-military character of the corps. These centuries do not seem to have had a fixed seniority, as they appear in a different order in each of the two rolls, for though, as has been said, the Centurions are all different, the identity of a century is determined by the occurrence of many of the same men—altogether some 300 odd—in the two rolls. The men almost invariably occur in the later roll in the same order as they have in the earlier, though, of course, owing to discharges in the interval, they occupy senior positions.

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1056. On the two rolls of Coh. V, *vide* Kell.

<sup>2</sup> Lanciani (*Ancient Rome*, p. 228) gives the number as 1043 for 205 and 1122 for 210. Kell. gives 925 and 1008 (followed by Marq. *Stswtg.* ii. 470, note 7). Many of the names are illegible ; those actually extant (in the *Corpus*) appear to be 925 for 205, and 958 for 210.

Transfers from one century to another, however, are not uncommon, there being some twenty-six in the period: in some cases these seem to have taken place on promotion, and in others not. Transfers from one cohort to another also appear to have taken place, to judge from the appearance of new names in senior positions in the later roll.

Possibly the chief title to importance of these rolls comes from the fact that they give us the ranks of the N.C.O.s or Principales, and Immunes.

We may mention first the Medici, as they appear to occupy a special position. They were seemingly not on the strength of any of the centuries, and thus they only appear in the later of the two rolls, which alone has a dedication, for they only figure as participating in the dedication.

Cheesman,<sup>1</sup> in dealing with the auxiliary troops, has noted that there appear to be two kinds of Medici, viz. 'Medici ordinarii' and simple 'Medici'. The former seem to have served in the ranks, and to have been classed as Immunes,<sup>2</sup> but the latter seem to be of a superior status, and (as is the case with two of those now under consideration) frequently to be of Greek origin.<sup>3</sup> Many men of this profession in Rome were freedmen, and it is possible that in the case of the Vigiles they may have attained their position through ordinary enlistment and promotion, but in the case of the auxiliaries, Greeks, as Cheesman remarks, 'can hardly have reached their regiments by the ordinary recruiting channels'; still less can they have done so

<sup>1</sup> *The Auxilia of the Roman Army*, pp. 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tarrutenus Paternus, *Digest*. l. 6, 7; *C. I. L.* vii. 690.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* xiii. 6621, xi. 3007, iii. 10857.

in the Praetorian guard.<sup>1</sup> In both these cases, then, we find Medici of a superior standing to an ordinary *Immunis*, and the analogy, coupled with the facts that the men in question do not appear on the strength of centuries and do appear in the dedication in company with the senior *Principales*, leads to the conclusion that the Medici of the *Vigiles* were of the superior kind—fully qualified doctors, but with no military rank. Von Domaszewski, while saying ‘gehören die Ärzte nicht dem Truppe selbst an’, seems to give a wrong impression of their position by putting them last in his list of *principales*, a position which might fall to the *Medicus ordinarius*, who is only an *Immunis*, and may be compared to our R.A.M.C. orderlies. This latter class, however, does not seem to appear in the *Vigiles*.

One other point may be mentioned in regard to the Medici, and that is the unusually large proportion of four for a cohort of 1,000 men.<sup>2</sup> But we may assume that they had plenty to do with casualties from fires, street accidents, and such-like.

For treating the remainder of the *Principales* the arrangement of Von Domaszewski will be adopted.<sup>3</sup> He makes a threefold division; the middle group of the three is what he calls the ‘*Taktische Chargen*’, senior to this is a group he calls ‘*Beneficiarchargen*’, and junior to it the *Immunes*. The reasons for this division he gives fully, and they need not be gone into here, since they apply to the whole army, and not to the *Vigiles* in particular.

The ‘*taktische Chargen*’, which are the basis of this

<sup>1</sup> *Dom. Rang.*, p. 26; *C. I. L.* vi. 212, 2532.

<sup>2</sup> Four Medici, also with Greek names, appear in a similar dedication of the II<sup>nd</sup> cohort of the same year 210. *C. I. L.* vi. 1059.

<sup>3</sup> *Rang.*, pp. 1-6.

arrangement, are the only executive officers, and correspond to our N.C.O.s. The group consists of three ranks, Vexillarius, Optio, and Tesserarius. These three occur in every century of the Vth and of the Ist cohorts in 205, and, except where the names at the beginning of the century are illegible, of the Vth cohort in 210.<sup>1</sup> These three rolls seem to be written on two different principles. In the first two mentioned the men are given in their order of seniority as to service, the Principales coming in their own places, apparently without regard to their rank: in the last, however, the Principales are collected together at the beginning of each century, in what must be an order of seniority as to rank. Here in each case where they appear the Vexillarius, Optio, and Tesserarius invariably occur and in this order, usually with the further specification 7, i. e. Centuriae.<sup>2</sup>

The Vexillarius, of course, carries the Vexillum of the century, and corresponds to the Signifer of other infantry. The cohort, as usual, had no standard, and it was probably deliberately to distinguish them from the rest of the army that the Vigiles had only a centurial vexillum instead of a signum.<sup>3</sup> The Vexillarius seems to have been a sort of second in command of a century, and to correspond more or less to our subaltern, or possibly more nearly to the now obsolete rank of Ensign; except, of course, for the fact that he rose from the ranks. Vegetius<sup>4</sup> tells us that the Signifer in

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1057, Coh. V of 205; *C. I. L.* vi. 1056, Coh. I of 205; *C. I. L.* vi. 1058, Coh. V of 210. These rolls are referred to frequently below by their years only in the case of Cohort V.

<sup>2</sup> This is the order also in *C. I. L.* vi. 220, 221, 33038 a, xi. 1438.

<sup>3</sup> Dom. Rang., p. 11. Cf. *infra*, pp. 92, 93.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 20. Cf. also the entry 'ad signa' in the Geneva papyrus (*vide* p. 68, note 2, *supra*).



Legions was responsible for the custody of the sums deducted as savings from the men's pay; this is what we should expect, as these savings were deposited 'apud signa', and we may assume the Vexillarius had similar duties.

Next comes the Optio, who figures in all infantry of the army. He was the Centurion's right-hand man, and was appointed by him or by the Tribune.<sup>1</sup> He may be compared with our Company Sergeant-Major. He appears frequently in inscriptions, and little more need be said about him here. The title is also used with the additional specification of some other word to denote N.C.O.s in charge of some technical service, in just the same way as we have Farrier-Sergeants, Fitter-Sergeants, Armourer-Sergeants, &c. More will be said of these technical duties later.

The third of this group, the Tesserarius, is also universal throughout the infantry. Vegetius<sup>2</sup> describes his duties thus: 'tesserarius qui tesseram per contubernia militum nuntiat: tessera autem dicitur praeceptum ducis quo vel ad aliquod opus vel ad bellum movetur exercitus.' He is thus a sort of permanent Orderly-Sergeant for the century, and, as in the case of the Optio, he needs no further comment here.

Von Domaszewski<sup>3</sup> notes that detachments on special duties seem to be under the command of one or other of these three N.C.O.s, both the Optio<sup>4</sup> and the Tesserarius<sup>5</sup> occurring in the graffiti of the excubitorium of the

<sup>1</sup> Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v, § 91, 'optio appellatur is quem decurio aut centurio optat sibi rerum privatarum ministrum quo facilius obeat publica officia.' Cf. also Festus, p. 198. *Veg.* ii. 7. Cf. also *C. I. L.* viii. 2554, a roll of Optiones of Leg. III Augusta from Lambaesis.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3001, 3057, 3069, 3076.

<sup>3</sup> *Rang.*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3033.

VIIth cohort: a Tesserarius, too, is concerned in management of the performance of the games in A.D. 212,<sup>1</sup> and the Optio or Tesserarius apparently accompanied his Centurion on the Ostia duty.<sup>2</sup>

The tenure of one of the three ranks of this group of the 'taktische Chargen' was apparently a necessary preliminary to advancement to the higher grades of staff appointments,<sup>3</sup> and for this purpose the three seem to have ranked equally, as we find in the roll of A.D. 210 an ex-Vexillarius of 205 occupying a lower rank than an ex-Optio: but at the same time two Tesserarii of A.D. 205 are promoted one to Optio and the other to Vexillarius in 210. It was also, it seems, necessary to hold one of these ranks in the Vigiles before transfer to another corps, for we find an Optio of the Vth cohort becoming a private (miles) in the XIth Urban cohort.<sup>4</sup>

A man might also hold all three of these 'taktische Chargen' in succession, as we see from the inscriptions on which Von Domaszewski bases his view,<sup>5</sup> where they are described as 'omnia officia in caliga'. Incidentally, this inscription belongs to the Praetorians, but there is another which gives just the same order for the IInd cohort of Vigiles.<sup>6</sup>

The group superior to the 'taktische Chargen' consists of staff appointments of the corps, and a few of the cohort, but mostly of the head-quarters staff of the Prefect and of the Sub-prefect, which was apparently formed of men detached from the cohorts; within this staff there was a dual system of seniority, the various

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1063.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* xiv. 230. *A. E.* 1912, 240; *N. S.* 1911, p. 369. Cf. *infra*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Dom. Rang.* 10.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* x. 3880, date uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. L.* ix. 5839, 5840.

<sup>6</sup> *C. I. L.* x. 1438.

posts having by themselves a fixed order, and being further subordinated according to the rank of the officer to whose staff they were attached.

The senior post is that of *Cornicularius*. This rank is universal throughout the army as the senior member of the staff of almost any officer, from a provincial *Legatus pro Praetore* down to a *Praefectus* of an Auxiliary cohort.<sup>1</sup>

How many of these the Prefect of *Vigiles* had on his staff we do not know. He certainly had two, for they occur in the Vth cohort in both 205 and 210; but we may with probability assume that he had only two, if a *Legatus legionis* had only one.<sup>2</sup> That both should have been in the Vth cohort in both these two years can only be a coincidence; the theory which at first sight seems probable, that there were two from each cohort, is disproved by their absence from the *Principales* who figure in the dedication of the IIInd cohort in 210,<sup>3</sup> and also, to a certain extent, by their absence from the incomplete roll of the Ist cohort in 205: whilst the high number of fourteen *Cornicularii* which this arrangement would give is in itself a strong argument against it.

The seniority of the *Cornicularius* is shown by his promotion in the time of Antoninus Pius direct to the centurionate of a Legion,<sup>4</sup> and also by the fact that in the roll of the Vth cohort in 210 the two *Cornicularii Praefecti*, together with the *Cornicularius Sub-praefecti*,

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Marq. *Stswtg.* ii. 528. The evidence is too abundant to quote.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1059, frequently referred to below.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* xi. 5693, to Leg. II, Traiana. Domaszewski (*Rang.*, p. 8, note 1) remarks that this Legion differed from others: but cf. *C. I. L.* vi. 414 b, of Commodus' reign, where promotion is to Leg. III, Cyrenaica.

are the only Principales (except the Medici) who participate in the dedication.

The Cornicularius Subpraefecti is the next senior: if the Praefectus had two, we may suppose the Subpraefectus had only one, and it is a very curious coincidence that all three should have been in the Vth cohort in 210.

The seniority of the Cornicularius is also shown by the fact that the next senior Principalis is the Cornicularius Tribuni. He is the only one of the Tribune's staff who belongs to this senior group of Principales, but his position is well authenticated by his appearance in the aforementioned dedication of the IIInd cohort senior to the Beneficiarii Praefecti.<sup>1</sup> He appears senior in a century in the Vth cohort in A.D. 205, and the fact that he is missing in 210 is probably due to the disappearance of several names at the beginning of the first, second, and sixth centuries in the roll of that year.

It is reasonable to suppose that there was a Cornicularius to the Tribune of each cohort.

The exact functions of the cornicularii it is hard to determine; but from their senior position one may suppose that, though not commissioned, their duties corresponded very much to those of our Staff Captain for Cornicularius Praefecti, and Adjutant for the Cornicularius Tribuni.<sup>2</sup>

Next, apparently, ranked the Commentariensis Praefecti. This rank does not appear in any of the rolls, and is only known to us from a fragmentary inscription giving a series of promotions, which was found, as has

<sup>1</sup> A Cornicularius Tribuni is mentioned along with a Tribune and four Centurions in a dedication by the Vexillatio at Ostia in A.D. 239. *E. E.* vii (1892) 1210. For early mentions cf. Val. Max. vi. 1, 11; Fronto, *Strat.* iii. 14, 1, of the time of Julius Caesar.

<sup>2</sup> e. g. the Cornicularius with his Tribune at Ostia. *E. E.*, *loc. cit.*, *infra*, p. 113.

been already stated, under the Church of S. Saba on the Aventine, probably on the site of the station of the IVth cohort.<sup>1</sup> Whether the Prefect had one or two Commentarienses is uncertain: the Legatus of a Legion apparently had only one,<sup>2</sup> but on the analogy of the Cornicularii we might suppose that the head-quarters of the Vigiles had two, though one is more probable. He seems to have been a private secretary. Domaszewski points out that strictly it is not a military office at all, but belongs to officers who have civil functions to perform as well.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription referred to gives the following order of seniority in ascending scale B(eneficiarius) SVBP(raefecti), B(eneficiarius) PR(aefecti), TAB(ularius) B(eneficiarius) (Praefecti), COMM(entariensis) PR(aefecti), CORNIC(ularius) (Praefecti).

Domaszewski transposes the Tabularius and the ordinary Beneficiarius Praefecti, but he says the former was probably not a specific rank, but only a special duty performed by one of the Beneficiarii,<sup>4</sup> in which case a man might hold the post for a time and then relinquish it in favour of another of his rank. The Tabularius is missing in the rolls of the Ist cohort of A.D. 205, and of the Vth of 210, but he appears in that of the latter cohort in the former year, and it is remarkable that the man in question is Cornicularius Praefecti in 210. The Tabularius is more or less O.C. Records for the corps.

The Beneficiarii Praefecti appear, from the dedication

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 51; *B. C.*; *N. S.*, *loc. cit.*; also Cagnat, *A. E.* 1902, no. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Marq. *Stswtg.*, p. 529.

<sup>3</sup> Dom. *Rang.*, p. 31, *vide* Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Commentariensis.

<sup>4</sup> *Rang.*, p. 8, 'Es ist dies keine eigentliche Charge, sondern eine spezielle Verwendung dieses Kanzleibeamten als Registrator.'



of the IInd cohort in A.D. 210, to have been five in number for a cohort, and we find five in the Vth cohort in 205; in the same cohort in 210 there are only three, but, as has been said, three centuries have many names missing at the beginning, so that we may assume five per cohort to be the rule. This, incidentally, rather goes against Domaszewski's theory of the Tabularius, for the Vth cohort in 205 has five Beneficarii in addition to the Tabularius. Beneficarii are described by Vegetius<sup>1</sup> as 'ab eo appellati quod promoventur beneficio tribunorum'—or of other officers, for the title is universal throughout the army, always with the addition of the officer by whose beneficium it is held.<sup>2</sup>

What the exact duties of the Beneficarii of the Prefect of Vigiles were it would be hard to say. They formed the head-quarters staff, and Domaszewski classes them all together as Kanzleibeamten. When we remember the multifarious duties of the Prefect of Vigiles at the beginning of the third century—the date of our information as to these officers—it is not surprising that he needed a staff of thirty-five Beneficarii. Their seniority in the cohort on whose strength they were is vouched for by the fact of their appearance with the Cornicularius Tribuni as the only Principales mentioned in the dedication of the IInd cohort of A.D. 210, and by their positions in the Vth cohort roll of 210, and again in the bronze tablet<sup>3</sup> of the IVth cohort a Beneficiarius Praefecti appears as senior Principalis of the century.

Next to the Beneficarii, Domaszewski<sup>4</sup> places a rank which appears once only in the Vth cohort in A.D. 205. It is signified by the letters PRPR, which he explains as

<sup>1</sup> ii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Marq. *Stswtg.*, p. 531.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 220.

<sup>4</sup> *Rang.*, p. 9, Kell. (p. 19) reads PBPR and explains as Principalis Beneficiarius Praefecti.



Pr(inceps Tabularii) Pr(aefecti). This explanation is from the analogy of the Tabularium of the Legatus Legionis, and he quotes a passage of Vegetius<sup>1</sup> about the Princeps which, as it refers to a Centurion, does not seem to be a parallel. He further suggests that this office, too, is only a special duty of a Beneficiarius, which, if it is so, gives the Vth cohort seven Beneficarii Praefecti in 210. The reason for giving the rank such high seniority is that the man in question is the oldest soldier of the century. In face of the lack of evidence nothing definite can be said about it.

The Beneficiarius Sub-Praefecti comes next. In his case little need be added to what has been said of the Beneficarii Praefecti. We find one in both rolls of the Vth cohort, and dubiously in that of the Ist, so we may assume one per cohort to be the establishment. The seniority is vouched for by an inscription of the reign of Trajan,<sup>2</sup> where the rank appears as senior Principalis of the century, and by the position in the roll of the Vth cohort of A.D. 210.

The remainder of the head-quarters staff consists of the Actarius Praefecti, the A Quaestionibus Praefecti, and the Librarius I. D.

One Actarius<sup>3</sup> is found in both rolls of the Vth cohort, so we may assume one per cohort, while as two A Quaestionibus appear in both, for these we may take two to be the establishment. The seniority of the Actarius to the A Quaestionibus Domaszewski deduces from the greater number of the latter, and the seniority of both to the

<sup>1</sup> Dom. Rang., p. 74; Veg. ii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. L. vi. 221.

<sup>3</sup> AC PR explained by Kell. as 'a commentariis Praefecti', which would be a duplicate of the Commentariensis, whose rank is proved to be higher. Cf. *supra*, p. 78. Werner (p. 59) follows Kell.

'taktische Chargen' is clear from their positions in the roll of A.D. 210 and from the fact that an Optio of 205 is promoted to Actarius by 210. Both are clerical posts.

The Librarius I.D. does not appear in any of the rolls but only in the bronze tablet; it is explained by Mommsen as 'instrumentorum depositorum'.<sup>1</sup> Beyond the fact that he ranks in the inscription in question senior to a Vexillarius and junior to a Beneficiarius Praefecti, nothing is known of him. He may be some kind of Quartermaster, and there was probably only one for the corps.

The head-quarters staff of the Prefect, then, consisted of the following: from the whole corps 2 Cornicularii, 1 Commentariensis, 1 Tabularius Beneficiarius, 1 Princeps (?), 1 Librarius Instrumentorum Depositorum (?) = 6; from each cohort 5 Beneficarii, 1 Actarius, 2 A Quaestionibus = 8. Thus the total staff is 62.<sup>2</sup> In addition to this the Sub-Prefect had a staff of 1 Cornicularius, a Beneficiarius from each cohort, and a Librarius,<sup>3</sup> making a total of 9.

Besides this head-quarters staff there are three regimental duties which rank senior to the 'taktische Chargen'.

Though the cohort had no standard, it had an image of the Emperor, and the senior of these regimental duties is that of Imaginifer.<sup>4</sup> As the rolls we have are all of the reign of Septimius Severus, it is natural that we should find three Imaginiferi, one designated IM(aginifer)

<sup>1</sup> *Bull.* 1845, p. 195 ff. Cf. *C. I. L.* vi. 220 *ad loc.* *Digest*, l. vi. 7 (6) gives 'librarii depositorum' among Immunes.

<sup>2</sup> Probably also one Exactus (or Exceptor?) per cohort, *vide infra*, p. 85. Werner (59) also finds a Singularis.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra*, p. 85, and Appendix C.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Veg.* ii. 7: 'Imaginarium qui imperatoris imagines ferunt.'

A(ugusti) for Septimius himself, and two described as IM(aginifer) C(aesaris)<sup>1</sup> for Caracalla and Geta. These three appear in the Vth cohort in A.D. 205. In the Ist cohort in 205 and the Vth in 210, in the incomplete state in which we have them, we find only one for each, IMC in the latter case and simply IM in the former, but in this reign we may suppose each cohort had the three. Their seniority to the Vexillarius comes from the roll of 210,<sup>2</sup> and also from the fact that an IMC of 205 is AQP in 210, while the IMA of the former year is Cornicularius Praefecti in the latter.

The other two regimental duties belonging to this group are two Optiones with special functions. They are described as OPB(A) and OPA. Their full titles seem uncertain. Kellermann takes BA as referring to public baths, where, we have seen, Vigiles performed police duties. Of this explanation, Domaszewski says 'steht ganz in der Luft', while he also dismisses Henzen's derivation from Balteus,<sup>3</sup> and himself adopts de Rossi's derivation from Ballista.<sup>4</sup> I confess that I do not see why the Vigiles should have been equipped with Ballistae, and Domaszewski's explanation that they were used in fire-fighting to knock down tottering walls does not seem satisfactory. The title obviously refers to some kind of engine used by the Vigiles,<sup>5</sup> but more than that one cannot say. Similarly the OPA is uncertain; Doma-

<sup>1</sup> Kell's first interpretation is IM(munis) C(ohortis), which is impossible in view of the seniority to the Vexillarius, and of the fact that Immunis by itself is no rank. He finally prefers Imaginifer.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *C.I.L.* vi. 33038 a (of Praetorians).

<sup>3</sup> Accepted by Hülsen, *C.I.L.* vi. 31075. Dom. *Rang.*, p. 10, notes 3 and 4, 'was Balteus, Wehrgehäng, hier soll, verstehe ich nicht'. De Mag. (p. 22) follows Kell.

<sup>4</sup> de Rossi on *C.I.L.* vi. 3744.

<sup>5</sup> From *C.I.L.* vi. 31075.

szewski suggests *Armamentarii*.<sup>1</sup> We find OPB three times in the roll of 205, though only one remains in 210: three per cohort is probably the establishment. The seniority is clear from the promotion of a *Vexillarius* of 205 to OPB in 210, where he occurs junior to AQP.

OPA is found once in the roll of 205 and is missing in 210. Whether it is senior or junior to OPBA cannot be determined.

The group of *Immunes* below the 'taktische Chargen' consists of the staff of the Tribune and various technical and special duties of the cohort; though it also includes three junior ranks of the head-quarters staff.

The senior *Immunis* is the *Beneficiarius Tribuni*. That he is only an *Immunis* and junior to the 'taktische Chargen' is abundantly clear both from the roll of 210 and from other inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The complete roll of 205 gives eleven of these *Beneficiarii*, one of whom has the additional specification HEM, which, from comparison with the other rolls, appears to be (H)EMERITVS. One man is called EMR, which may be taken as an error for EM·B, thus making up the number of *Beneficiarii* to twelve, which may be taken as the establishment, as it corresponds to that of the *Beneficiarii Tribuni Lativclavii* of the Legion.<sup>3</sup>

Domaszewski<sup>4</sup> shows that it was necessary to hold the post of *Beneficiarius Tribuni* before promotion to the 'taktische Chargen', and thus it is not surprising to find

<sup>1</sup> Kell. followed by de Mag. (p. 22) and Cagnat (*op. cit.*) take it as *Arcarii*. Cf. an *Arcarius* in Scaevola, *Dig.* xl. 41, § 17. Kell. quotes Grutero, 431. 9, for an *Optio Ar(carii)* of Urban cohorts, but Mommsen (*C. I. L.* ix. 1617) reads *Optio Car(ceris)*.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 221, 2987, 33038 a, x. 3880.

<sup>3</sup> Dom. *Rang.*, p. 11, says eleven. *C. I. L.* viii. 2551, however, gives twelve *Beneficiarii* for the Legion.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*

men serving beyond their time—which is what *Emeritus* must mean—if they had a reasonable prospect of having the field of promotion thrown open to them by so doing. In the 1st cohort in 205 there are no less than four such *Emeriti*. It is remarkable, however, that of the twelve *Beneficiarii* on the roll of the Vth cohort in 205, none reappear in 210, with the exception of the (H)*Emeritus* Iulius Boatius Rusticus, who is still called **EMB** in 210: the remainder had probably secured their promotion, and with it, according to the more usual Roman practice, transfer to another cohort. Why Rusticus failed to secure his promotion one cannot say, as the post of *Beneficiarius* does not seem usually to have been held for so long: Iulius Galatus, of the Vth cohort, held it for two years before promotion to *Vexillarius*, on this occasion in the same cohort.<sup>1</sup>

There follow two of the posts on the head-quarters staff already referred to. The senior of these is the **EX**(actus) **PR**(aefecti),<sup>2</sup> who is a kind of understudy to the *Actarius*. Apparently this post did not always exist, as it is only found in the roll of 210. Perhaps he was only appointed when the *Actarius* was due for promotion or discharge.

The other head-quarters post is the **L**(ibrarius) **S**(ub)-**PR**(aefecti); this also only appears in the roll of 210, though we meet one also in the Vth cohort in A.D. 113, where he is called **L·VR·SVBPR**.<sup>3</sup> Mommsen explains

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 2987; Plate VI.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *C. I. L.* vi. 32748 (= 2406). Werner (59), following Kell., takes it to be *Exceptor*.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 221. Mommsen, *ad loc.* For duties of *Librarius* vide Veg. ii. 7: 'Librarii ab eo quod in libris referunt rationes ad milites pertinentes.' Kell. reads **LSPR** for the first man of the century of Iulius Rufus in 205, where the *Corpus* reads **PR**.



this as Vrbanus : possibly there was another Librarius concerned with the duties at Ostia.<sup>1</sup>

Next come two appointments to special duties of the cohort, namely OP C(A)<sup>2</sup> and OP CO. OP CA is almost certainly Optio Carceris, as this post is found both in the Urban and in the Praetorian troops. The Vth cohort of Vigiles had two in 205 and three in 210. Three would thus be the establishment ; troops are not always up to strength.<sup>3</sup> The prison in question is obviously for offenders taken by the Vigiles in their nightly patrols, and not merely military detention cells. The OP CO of the roll of 205 is more fully given in that of 210 as OP CONV, and Domaszewski explains it as OPTIO CONVALESCENTIUM, on the analogy of a similar rank of Optio Valetudinarii in the Urban cohorts.<sup>4</sup> The man is obviously the Sergeant responsible for light-duty men, and one per cohort is the establishment.

Next comes the remainder of the Tribune's staff, consisting of Secutores, Codicillarii, Exceptores, and a Librarius.

The Secutores appear to have been fourteen in number, but not necessarily two from each century. According to Domaszewski they formed a sort of bodyguard for the Tribune, and seem normally to have been promoted to Beneficiarius.<sup>5</sup> The Codicillarii are eleven in number in both rolls, and must be the clerical staff of the Cohort Commander : their normal promotion was to Secutor.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> OP · CAR in *C. I. L.* vi. 32748.

<sup>3</sup> Dom. *Rang.*, p. 12, suggests that a man in the roll of 205 (century 5, no. 131), who is simply called O may be the third Optio Carceris.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* ix. 1617. Dom. *ib.* Kell. reads H for N, and explains as OP(tio) COH(ortis) V. The junior position alone makes this impossible.

<sup>5</sup> Three cases in the two rolls. One in *C. I. L.* vi. 2987. One case in the rolls of promotion to OP · CONV.



The Exceptor Tribuni occurs once in the complete roll of 205, and twice in the list of 210, but the second time without the specification TR(ibuni): from this Domaśzewski suggests that the last-mentioned is Exceptor Praefecti. But the distinguishing letters PR are not so likely to be omitted in the roll of a cohort as those of the Tribune, to whose staff such duties would be naturally attributed if not further specified.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that the EXC ranks senior to the Codicillarius Tribuni, while EXC TR is junior; but as we also find a Codicillarius ranking senior to a Secutor,<sup>2</sup> we may suppose that these various duties on the Tribune's staff ranked more or less equal.

The Librarius occurs once in each roll; in 205 he is called LTR and in 210 simply LIB, another example of the omission of the letters of specification where that is obvious. In A.D. 113 he is called LIB(rarius) COH(ortis),<sup>3</sup> and there ranks senior to the Secutor, while in 210 he is junior to that rank; which fact supports what has been said as to equality of posts on the Tribune's staff.

Next comes the Buccinator or Bugler. The Vth cohort has five in 205,<sup>4</sup> and three (extant) in 210: the first cohort in 205 has none extant. One might suppose that every century had a bugler, and that this was the case in Trajan's time seems to be shown by the description BVC IN 7.<sup>3</sup> Probably this continued to be the

<sup>1</sup> e. g. in a company roll the letters S. M. by themselves would naturally be taken of the Company Serjeant Major, not of the Regimental Serjeant Major. N.B. also the Codicillarii are sometimes called simply COD, and Beneficiarii Tribuni twice simply B and BF in 205.

<sup>2</sup> In century of Rufinus of 210.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. L. vi. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Including a man described as SV which Kell. takes as an error for BV. For the shape of the Buccina *vide* Veg. iii. 5: 'buccina quae in semetipsum aeneo circulo flectitur.'

establishment; as has been said before, troops are not always up to establishment, especially in the matter of skilled posts such as buglers.<sup>1</sup> In view of the shortage it is odd that two occur in one century in 205, one of them being called BVC SV, which Kellermann explains as Buccinator supra numerum. Only two of the buglers of 205 reappear in 210, both of them still holding the same rank, while the third of 210 is an ordinary private in 205; which, to some extent, supports what I have said as to the difficulty of filling such a post. The Bugler appears to rank among the staff of the Tribune, sometimes senior and sometimes junior to the Secutores.

There follows a host of special duties and technical posts, the functions of which are in some cases utterly unknown.

Among these posts we have the VIC(timarius), once in each roll, who is obviously concerned with the religious functions of the cohort; KARC(erarius), once only in 205 (unless one should read KAR for BAR<sup>2</sup> in the roll of 210), who is probably responsible for the cleanliness of the prison; HO in 205, and HC (the same man) in 210, who is probably HO(rrarius) C(ohortis); as in 210 he appears to rank with the Tribune's staff, he is probably the cohort Quartermaster Sergeant;<sup>3</sup> CPC doubtfully in 205, the same man being called CACVS<sup>4</sup> in 210; 'vielleicht der Latrinenwärter' says

<sup>1</sup> See Veg. ii. 22 for the function of the Buccinatores of a Legion. The Buccinator only sounds Barrack or Routine calls, as opposed to the Cornicen and Tubicen, who sound Tactical or Field calls. Thus the latter do not appear in the Vigiles.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 90, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> A HOR · LEG appears in A.D. 113 (*C. I. L.* vi. 221): what LEG may mean in connexion with the Vigiles is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> Lewis and Short: 'perhaps κακός. Cf. English villain, rascal, as designations of a servant.'

Domaszewski:<sup>1</sup> while Kellermann supposes him to be the Prefect's Batman.

SIF(onarius) occurs twice in each roll, and both times in the same century. From the passage in Pliny's letter to Trajan about the fire brigade of Nicomedia,<sup>2</sup> and from the words of Hero and Isidorus,<sup>3</sup> it is obvious that the siphon or sipo was a kind of fire-engine. These men then would seem to be the 'Limber-gunners' whose duty it was to keep the engine clean; Domaszewski calls them 'Spritzenmänner',<sup>4</sup> hose-men; probably they performed both functions; there is also other epigraphic evidence for their post:<sup>5</sup> we may suppose from their number that there were two such fire-engines to the cohort, both apparently being on the charge of one century; it is the century in both rolls, though it is the fifth in 205 and the sixth in 210.<sup>6</sup>

VNC COH is probably Uncinarius Cohortis;<sup>7</sup> it occurs twice in each roll, both men being in the same century in each case: the century is the seventh in each case, but these are not corresponding centuries. The first syllable occurs along with Siponarius in a fragmentary inscription.<sup>8</sup> If the interpretation is right, they were

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* x. 42, 2: 'nullus usquam in publico siphon, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda.'

<sup>3</sup> Hero, *Pneum.* i. 28; Isid. xx. 6. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 31075 (= 3744), 2994, MILIT · COH · VII · VIG · SIPONAR, and probably 3278.

<sup>6</sup> For a parallel, e.g. the battery water-cart always on the strength of A subsection.

<sup>7</sup> Kell., doubtfully, VNCTOR cohortis; so too Marq. *Stswtg.* II, p. 545, note 4. Cauer. *E. E.* iv, p. 360; de Mag., p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 31075 (= 3744); for the explanation see De Rossi, *ad loc.*

probably equipped with hooks for pulling down tottering walls, or with climbing irons.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription just referred to gives us another technical post which does not occur in any of the rolls. This is **FALC**, which is explained as **Falciarius**; this would be a man equipped with a **Falx**, and his function would be much the same as that of the **Uncinarius**.

Another post is that of **ABAL**, which is interpreted as **A Balneis**; this would be the bath-orderly, who looked after the cohort's baths. There are three in the roll of 205, and two in that of 210. One of the three of 205, however, reappears in 210 with the description **BAR**. Kellermann takes this as an error for **BAL**, thus restoring the three bath-orderlies for the latter year.<sup>2</sup>

**AQO**, **AQU**, **AQA**, interpreted as **Aquarius**, comes twice in 205 and once in 210. Possibly these men tended the water-supply of the barracks,<sup>3</sup> or possibly they were responsible for periodical testings of hydrants, if there were such things, or for an accurate knowledge of where water could be obtained for fire-fighting;<sup>4</sup> or possibly, more simply, they were water-carriers who formed a chain for buckets at a fire.

There remain two mysterious posts: firstly, that of **Emitularius**, which is mentioned in full twice in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schol. ad Iul. *Ant. in Const.* xxiii. 88: 'ferramenta per quae possint de pariete in parietem transire, et ita incendium extinguere.'

<sup>2</sup> Dom. *Rang.*, p. 14, reads **HAR** for **BAR**, and interprets as **Haruspex**, explaining its absence from the complete roll of 205 by supposing it to be a post on the staff of the Prefect, after the analogy of the **Legatus** of a Legion.

<sup>3</sup> Dom. *Rang.* 14.

<sup>4</sup> Suggested by Cagnat in D. and S., s.v. **Vigiles**. That the **Vigiles** were responsible for some water-supply is proved by the discovery of lead pipes bearing the name of the corps. *C.I.L.* xv. 7245: **TI · CL · IVVENTINO · 7 · CHOR · P · VIG.** *A.E.* 1903, 155: **... PHOEBIANI TRIB · CHO · PR · VIG.**

graffiti (already referred to) on the wall of the excubitorium of the VIIth cohort.<sup>1</sup> (Possibly this post is indicated by the letters . . . MI in the roll of 205, and EMC (emitularius cohortis?) in that of 210.<sup>2</sup>)

And secondly that of Sebaciarius, which is known to us from the same source.<sup>3</sup> For my part I do not believe Sebaciarius to be a rank, but merely to be synonymous with 'sebaciaria fecit', on which more will be said later.

Two other points as to organization arise in connexion with these graffiti: the first is the appearance of a rank of Adiutor.<sup>4</sup> Domaszewski calls him a clerk, but from his presence in this connexion I am tempted to think him an acting lance-corporal, say, appointed for the excubitorium duty.

The second is the possibility of there having been a mounted detachment of the Vigiles. This is suggested by Henzen<sup>5</sup> on the strength of one of these inscriptions which reads . . . AEMILIANUS 7 SEBACIARIVS CENTURIA EQUES FACTVS: there is also a picture of a horse on the left-hand side of the arch leading from the 'atrium'. It is odd, however, that there is no mention of them in the rolls, and Capannari<sup>6</sup> is probably right in reading the inscription as . . . CENTVRIAE QVIES(T) FACTVS . . . Even if Eques is right, it may be a joke, or possibly there were horses for the fire-engines. Possibly again some of the officers were mounted, but Paulus' statement that the Prefect 'coerrare debere calceatum' is against this supposition, though it might,

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3057, 3076.

<sup>2</sup> Dom. *Rang.*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3013, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3053, 3077.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* vi. 3059, 3075, 3078. Cf. also 220.

<sup>5</sup> *Ann.*, 1874, p. 132. *C. I. L.* vi. 3945, followed by Marq. *Stswtg.* II, p. 486, and Lovatelli, *Scritti Vari*, Rome, 1898.

<sup>6</sup> *B. C.* 1886, pp. 267-8.



on the contrary, be taken as indicating that the Prefect normally rode, but on these occasions had to go on foot.

The explanations which have been offered of the word *Emitularius* are many and various. As has been said above, it occurs twice in the graffiti in the expressions *AGO GRATIAS EMITULIARIO*; and *SALVO EMITULIARIO*. The derivation of this word is quite uncertain, and this accounts for the variety of interpretation.

De Vit<sup>1</sup> derived it from *hama*, a bucket, and *tulo*, antique form of *fero*, a bucket-man. Henzen,<sup>2</sup> however, adopted Loewe's derivation from *tritolum* or *emitolum*, meaning a cushion or mattress, and explained it as the man who spread these things on the ground for people to jump on to from burning houses.<sup>3</sup> Ussing,<sup>4</sup> however, from the same derivation, took it to mean bedfellow, comrade.

Cantarelli<sup>5</sup> took it to be a hybrid word from *ἥμι* and *tulo*, meaning 'the man who bears half the burden' (i. e. of the *sebaciaria*).

Nocella<sup>6</sup> at first read it as *F MITULIARIO*, *F* standing for *FABRO*, and interpreted it as the artificer who was responsible for the lamp-brackets in the streets—supposing, with Capannari,<sup>7</sup> that the streets of Rome were illuminated from the reign of Caracalla, and that

<sup>1</sup> *Atti della R. Acc. di Scienze di Torino*, xiv. 1879.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull.* 1882, p. 60. Cf. pp. 127, 191-2 for De Vit's refutation of this, *Di una nuova interpretazione del vocabolo Emitularius proposta dal Dott. Loewe*, Modena, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> How this fitted in with his theories of the *Sebaciaria* it is hard to see. Cf. *infra*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *B. C.* 1887, pp. 77-89.

<sup>6</sup> *Sebaciaria, Emitularius*, M. Carlo Nocella, Rome, Forzani, 1886.

<sup>7</sup> *B. C.* 1886, pp. 251-65.



this was a duty of the Vigiles. On second thoughts,<sup>1</sup> however, he read it in the usually accepted way, and derived it from ἡμι and τυλωτός, taking it to mean 'a man armed with a club half-studded with iron'!

Mowat derived it from *emere*, to buy, and interpreted it as 'celui qui est chargé des menus achats, qui fait les petites emplettes'.<sup>2</sup>

No one seems yet to have suggested that it may be a proper name!

Personally I do not find any of these explanations satisfying, and until further evidence comes to light I am content to take it as some technical post, possibly of a temporary nature, and to admit that we have no idea of its derivation or signification.

<sup>1</sup> *Le Inscrizioni graffite nell' Escubitorio della Settima Coorte dei Vigili*, Nocella, Rome, Forzani, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de la Soc. Ant. de France*, 1896, p. 167.

## V

### EQUIPMENT AND DUTIES. SEBACIARIA. THE VEXILLATIO AT OSTIA.

THE nominal rolls have already given us some information about the equipment of the corps. For instance, we have seen that each cohort had three Ballistae. What the purpose of these Ballistae was I confess I cannot see, and I do not know whether to class them as part of the fire-fighting or of the police equipment.

As fire-fighting equipment proper we have learned that each cohort had two Siphones.

The *sipho* is described fully by Hero: οἱ σίφωνες οἷς χρῶνται ἐς τοὺς ἐμπρησμοὺς κατασκευάζονται οὕτως, he says,<sup>1</sup> and then proceeds to give a detailed description, which is repeated with variations by Vitruvius,<sup>2</sup> who, however, does not call the engine a *sipho*, but 'Ctesibiaca machina quae altissime extollit aquam'. The invention is thus that of Ctesibius,<sup>3</sup> whose pupil Hero is usually supposed to have been, and it took the form of a double-acting force-pump, which depended for its action upon the fact that it stood in a reservoir of water. Thus

<sup>1</sup> *Pneumatica*, i. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *De Architect.* x. 7 (Teubner text). Portions of such machines have been discovered; at Civit  Vecchia (*Giornale d. Lett. Ital.* v. 1795, p. 303), at Bolsena (now in British Museum. *Archaeologia*, vol. LV (1896), pt. i, p. 254-5), at Silchester (*ib.*, p. 232-4).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 38: 'Ctesibius pneumatica ratione et hydraulicis organis repertis laudatus.'

Isidore is quite right when he says 'siphonibus plenis aquis . . . extingunt incendia'.<sup>1</sup>

The fact of this necessity for a reservoir must have made the engine somewhat heavy and cumbersome, while the constant refilling of the reservoir must have rendered the working of it a laborious task. Possibly this was the duty of the Aquarii. Nevertheless the fact that Rome was (probably) provided with fourteen of them shows that they were fairly efficient.<sup>2</sup>

When the Vigiles were equipped with these engines can only be a matter of conjecture, as the historians do not help us. The fact that Vitruvius does not mention that the Ctesibiaca machina was used as a fire-engine makes it seem probable that it had not been introduced into Rome when he wrote. But as it is more than likely that he had written his treatise before the formation of the Vigiles, there is nothing in his silence to show that the *sipho* was not always part of their equipment. Now the words of Hero make it quite clear that the *sipho* had been in use as a fire-engine long before that time (how long is not quite certain),<sup>3</sup> and it is reasonable to suppose that as he and Ctesibius were both citizens of Alexandria, the fire-brigade of that city was equipped with these machines.

The view has constantly been held that the Roman Vigiles were modelled by Augustus on the fire brigade of Alexandria,<sup>4</sup> and if this is true of their organization,

<sup>1</sup> *Etym.* x. 6, 9.

<sup>2</sup> On the contrary we hear very little of them, and their appearance in the second place in the passage of Ulpian quoted below may show that not much reliance was placed in them.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion as to the date of Hero *vide* Introduction to Teubner Text. He is generally supposed to have lived in the third century B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1, 12, for a *νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός* at Alexandria. *ἦσαν μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐταὶ αἱ ἀρχαί.*

it may very well be so too of their equipment: so that it is hardly rash to suppose that the *sipho* was always part of the equipment of the Vigiles.<sup>1</sup>

It must have disappeared at some time during the troubled period after the end of the Empire in the West, for Isidore, writing in the seventh century, speaks of it as in use only 'in oriente'. It is a wonderful example of the continuity of Roman civilization in the East that a machine invented in the fourth century B.C. should still be in use a thousand years later.

For the other equipment used in fighting fires we have the testimony of an interesting passage of Ulpian,<sup>2</sup> who speaks of 'acetum quod extinguendi incendii causa paratur, item centones, siphones, perticae quoque et scalae, et formiones et spongas et amas et scopas . . .'

The *siphones* we have already dealt with; *centones* are patchwork quilts, or blankets or mattresses, which may have been employed to catch persons jumping from windows of upper stories or to break their fall, but most probably were soaked in water and used to smother flames, and to prevent their spreading.<sup>3</sup> The *formiones*, which are wicker-work mats, were probably also used for one or other of these purposes.

*Scalae*, ladders, we should have expected to find in the Vigiles' equipment even if they had not been mentioned here. The *perticae*, poles, were probably used to prop up walls in danger of falling, though they

<sup>1</sup> Werner (p. 70) thinks they date from the beginning of the second century.

<sup>2</sup> *Digest*, xxxiii. 7. 12, § 18.

<sup>3</sup> For this use Sisenna, iv, fr. 107 (also cf. Caesar, *B. C.* ii. 9), Werner (p. 66), suggests that the centones were the first line of defence rather than the siphones, and refers to the collegia of Centonarii, whose functions, however, are uncertain. *Cod. Th.* xiv. 8. 1.

may have been smaller altogether and used to beat out the flames.

*Amae* are fire-buckets, and we have mentions of these not only in the passage of Paulus, but also in Pliny: <sup>1</sup> they are part of the obvious equipment of any fire brigade; they were apparently not of metal, but of rope treated with pitch.<sup>2</sup>

*Scopae* are brooms made of twigs; it is difficult to see how these were used in fire-fighting, unless we are here in the presence of a technical use of the word. It is equally not quite clear how sponges were used in this connexion; possibly they were for sluicing water over walls to prevent their catching fire so easily.<sup>3</sup>

But perhaps the most interesting of this list is the first, *acetum*. We are familiar nowadays with chemical fire-extinguishers, and it is instructive to find a beginning of this in Roman times. It is quite possible that this *acetum* was enclosed in vessels which were thrown into the fire after the manner of the present-day 'Hand-grenade' type of extinguisher. (If this is so, the projecting of these vessels may be a possible use for the *Ballistae*, if such existed.) Its principal use, however, appears to have been to soak the *centones*.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to this list from Ulpian we have mentions of tools used for clearing away debris; we hear of

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, *Dig.* I. 15. 3, § 3; Pliny, *Ep.* x. 42. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the nickname of the *Vigiles*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schol. ad Iul. *Antecess. in Const.* xxiii. 88, 'Quos videmus ad incendia currentes et portantes spongas'.

<sup>4</sup> For the extinguishing properties of *acetum*, Macrobius, *Sat.* vii. 6. 12; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* III. 5. F. For another chemical fire-extinguisher, viz. *alumen*, A. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xv. 1. 4. For *Acetum* used for soaking the *centones*, Sisenna, iv, fr. 107.

*dolabrae*<sup>1</sup> and *securae*,<sup>2</sup> 'axes, pick and felling', and there are also the *falx* of the *falciarius*, and the *uncus* or *uncinus* of the *uncinarius*.

Of the personal uniform and equipment of the men little can be said. Plate VI is an illustration of a gravestone (now in the Vatican Museum<sup>3</sup>) which has an effigy of the deceased upon it, but it is difficult to gather much from it, as it is so worn. Further, the man it portrays, one Q. Iulius Galatus, of the VIth cohort, was a *Vexillarius*, and his uniform may be different from that of the rank and file. The indistinctness of the figure is such that two authorities, Henzen and Albert Müller, disagree as to what clothing is represented; but the ordinary *tunica militaris* appears to have been worn, and the usual short sword on the right-hand side. The *vexillum* itself has perished. Some of the corps must have been equipped with the *fustes* and *flagellae* with which summary punishment was meted out,<sup>4</sup> but beyond these surmises nothing can be stated definitely. We do not even know, for instance, if the crest up the back of the helmet, which is *de rigueur* for fire brigades in our own country and in many others, was started by the *Vigiles* or not.

So much, or rather so little, for equipment; with regard to duties much has already been said in the examination of the Prefect's office, but this may be amplified a little in considering how these duties affected the rank and file.

The first obvious routine duty is that of the excubi-

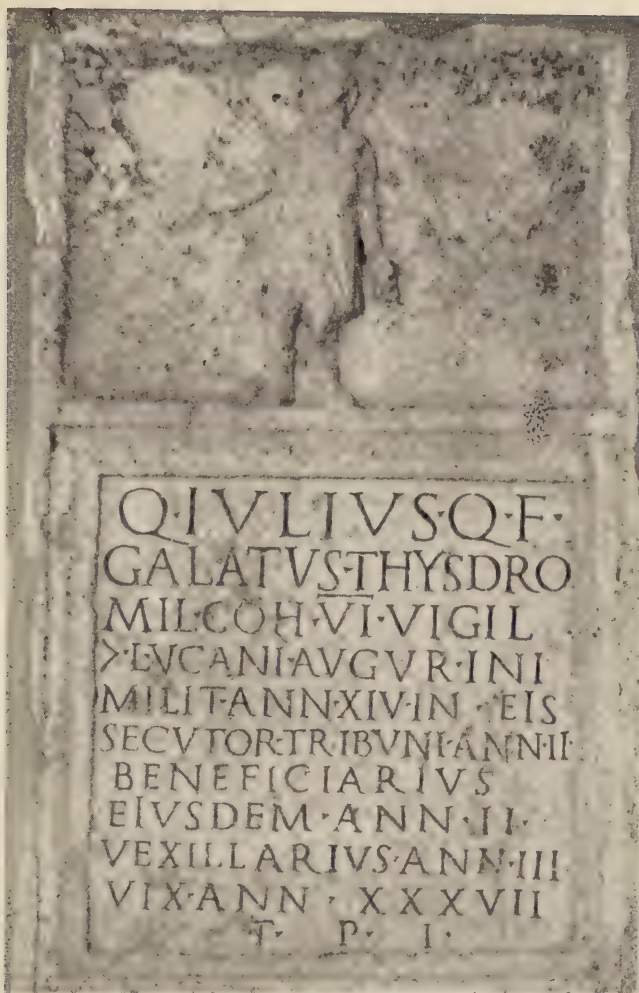
<sup>1</sup> Paulus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Petronius, *Cen. Trim.* 79. De Magistris gives pictures of other tools possibly used by the *Vigiles*.

<sup>3</sup> In Galleria Lapidaria, xxix. 128 a. = *C. I. L.* vi. 2987, *vide* Müller in *Philologus*, vol. xl (1831), p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> Ulpian, *Dig.* I. 15, iv.





VI. SEPULCHRAL RELIEF OF A VEXILLARIUS OF VIGILES

In the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican. *C.I.L.* vi. 2987

ALLEGHENY COLLEGE LIBRARY



toria. Each cohort, we have seen, had to man two of these, but what duties the detachments in them had to perform, and how large the detachment was, we do not know.

It might have been expected that the discovery of the excubitorium of the VIIth cohort, with its numerous inscriptions, would have given us ample information on these subjects. But the inscriptions nearly all deal with the duty of *sebaciaria*, and until a really satisfactory explanation of this word is reached they can only help us by suggestion, and not by matter of fact: we do not even know, for instance, if the *sebaciaria* was one of several, or the only task performed by the detachment on excubitorium duty, nor even (though this consideration seems to have been overlooked) if it was performed by all these detachments, or only by the one in Trastevere.

Again, the building itself in its present state does not help us very much, for until it is all excavated we can form no idea of the size of the detachment quartered in it.

From the inscriptions, however, we can gather one or two points. The centurion, for instance, is never mentioned personally, but only as an indication of the century a man belongs to. From this alone it might be rash to assume that there was no centurion in command at the excubitorium, but this assumption seems justified when we find the *optio* and the *tesserarius* mentioned as being in charge.

If, then, the excubitorium is under the command of a N.C.O., the detachment must have been considerably less than a century, say from forty to fifty men. This, of course, is only a conjecture, which further excavation at the Via Monte de' Fiori might easily upset.

We also know from repeated statements in the inscriptions that the duty of *sebaciaria* lasted a month: therefore the detachment at the excubitorium stayed there at least a month. On the only occasion when we get the names of the men who performed the *sebaciaria* for two consecutive months in a known year, A.D. 219,<sup>1</sup> the name of the centurion is missing in the first case. In A.D. 229 different centuries were on the duty for the months of February and May,<sup>2</sup> while in A.D. 221 different centuries were on duty in March, May, and July, while in November the same century is on duty again as was in May.<sup>3</sup>

One might possibly conjecture from these facts that two months was the period of duty, but it would be merely a conjecture.

The main night patrols, which formed the chief part of the duties of the *Vigiles*, must surely have come from the main station of the cohort, as they would obviously be an 'officer's parade'. When Paulus says that the Prefect himself '*coerrare debere calceatum*',<sup>4</sup> he can only be speaking figuratively of the duties of the corps personified in its commanding officer; but from the nature of the task one would expect at least a centurion in command.

These night patrols took fire-buckets and axes with them,<sup>5</sup> and took immediate action on the occasion or the suspicion of a fire;<sup>6</sup> probably, too, these night

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3066, April; 3057, May.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* vi. 2998, February; 3075, May.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* vi. 3058, March; 3069, May; 2999, July; 3065, November. It seems possible that the detachment was supplied by two centuries together, for twice two centuries are mentioned together with no other information, 3059, 3073.

<sup>4</sup> *Dig.* I. 15, iii, § 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Dig.*, *loc. cit.* Cf. Petronius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Petronius, *loc. cit.*

patrols did police-work at the same time. How many patrols each cohort sent out each night we have no means of knowing, but there was obviously a considerable number left in barracks, including a fire-engine squad, for we are not told that the engines were taken out by the patrols. Special parties were probably needed, too, for the search for runaway slaves,<sup>1</sup> as this arduous undertaking can hardly have fallen to the lot of the regular patrols. Special detachments also appear to have been on duty at the public baths,<sup>2</sup> but until Alexander Severus allowed the baths to keep open at night this would have been a daytime duty.<sup>3</sup>

It is an open question how much day duty the *Vigiles* performed. Originally, at all events, and probably subsequently as well, their police-work was confined to the night-time. This is implied by the words of Paulus, 'sciendum est praefectum Vigilum per totum noctem vigilare debere', and by the Greek equivalent for his office *νυκτοφύλαξ*. The police-court proceedings resulting from the nightly rounds must, however, have taken place in the daytime.

Similarly, too, the force must frequently have been called out as a fire brigade during the day, but the actual policing of the city from sunrise to sunset was not, in my opinion, part of the work of the *Vigiles*, but must have fallen to the Urban cohorts, who, if they did not perform this task, must have found the time hang rather heavy on their hands.

We now come to the duty of the *sebaciaria*. As has

<sup>1</sup> Ulpian, *Dig.* I. 15, iv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Paulus, *loc. cit.*, § 5. This is the reason for Kellermann's explanation of OP · BA as *Optio Balnearum*. But the public baths were usually known as *Thermae*.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Augg., Vit. Alex.* 24.

been said, this is known only from the graffiti scratched on the walls of the excubitorium of the VIIth cohort. The inscriptions usually take the following form: first a consular date; then the name and century of the individual; then the fact 'sebaciaria fecit'; then the month; and lastly some comment, usually 'omnia tuta', 'salvis comanipulis', or 'feliciter', with sometimes two or three of these, and often some peculiar remark as well.

E.g. GRATO ET SELEUCO COSS A.D. 221.  
RUFIVS SEVRINVS  
7 AVITI SEBACIARIA FECIT  
MESE MARTIO,<sup>1</sup>

or again in different form:

OCTAVIVS FELIX MIL COH VII  
VIGI SEVERIANES. 7 MAXIMI  
SEBACIARIA FECI ALBINO II A.D. 227.  
MAXIMO COS MES OCTOBR  
FELICITER.<sup>2</sup>

There are in all 97 of these inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> of which 65 refer to the *sebaciaria*: 44 give the month, and 25 the consular date; of these 18 give both. The earliest date is February A.D. 215, and the latest March A.D. 245.<sup>4</sup>

The duty lasted a month, a fact which is made certain by two inscriptions which say, SEBACIARIA FECIT EX KALENDAS IVLIAS (*sic*) IN KL AVGV[stas], and SEBACIARIA FECIT EX K FEB IN PRIDVE KAL MARTIAS;<sup>5</sup> and a single individual was responsible for it, as is shown by the statement MENSE SVO;<sup>6</sup> he could, however, apparently have assistance for it, for Segulius

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3058.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 3005.

<sup>3</sup> This is including the three given by Capannari in *B. C.* 1886, p. 268, nos. 4, 5, and 6, 'non essendo publicati nel Corpus'. For the *Corpus* the figures are 94, 62, 42, 24, 17.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3002, Feb., 215; 3028, March, 245.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* vi. 3062, and Capannari, No. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 3053.



Maximus says he did the duty *CVM AELIO APODEMO COMANIPVLO MEO*;<sup>1</sup> there appears also to have been some sort of regular roster of duty, for Calpurnius Victor specially says he did it *IN LOCO SVCCESSI*;<sup>2</sup> the fact, too, that it was a regular duty going on all the year round is clear from the appearance of every month of the kalendar at least twice in these graffiti.

The word *sebaciaria* is derived from 'sebaceus' and 'sebum', meaning tallow, and obviously has something to do with tallow-candles or lamps.<sup>3</sup> It is thus manifestly a duty performed, as were most of those of the Vigiles, at night-time. It would appear to have been a duty of some importance, to judge from the fact that so many of the men who performed it saw fit to record the fact and the date on the walls of their excubitorium.

The fashion appears to have been set by Cornelius Iucundus in 215, and his successors followed his example for thirty years. But possibly these records were scratched more because it was 'the thing' to do so in the cohort than because the duty itself was of any paramount importance. But the comments 'omnia tuta', occurring fourteen times;<sup>4</sup> 'salvis comanipulis', ten times;<sup>5</sup> and 'feliciter', six times,<sup>6</sup> would seem to indicate that there was a certain amount of risk or even of danger attached to the safe performance of the task.

If these were the only comments following these notices of the *sebaciaria*, it would be a matter of con-

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3060.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 3066.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Guidi. *B. C.* 1887, p. 31, foot-note.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 2998, 3008, 3015, 3028, 3029, 3053, 3056, 3062, 3076, 3078, 3079; Capannari, No. 6; and *tuta* alone, 3038, 3057.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 3009, 3028, 3029, 3033, 3075, 3078, 3079, 3081, 3088; Capannari, No. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 3001, 3005, 3012, 3065, 3069, 3076, *felicissime integre*, 3067.

siderably less difficulty to find an interpretation for the word. But there are a variety of others, and no explanation has yet been found which fits in properly with all. Some of these explanations, however, may be briefly mentioned here.

The first is that of P. E. Visconti.<sup>1</sup> He took the *sebaciaria* to be illuminations—by tallow candles—held by the Vigiles on public festivals connected with the Imperial cult, and he found a particular festival for each month mentioned during the reigns of Alexander Severus and Gordian III. He based this theory on the fact that many of these inscriptions are in frames shaped like votive tablets, and have the words VOTIS X, or VOTIS XX, or both.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, however, he had not seen all the inscriptions; and the fact that every month in the kalendar appears more than once (and eight of them definitely during Alexander's reign) is a fairly adequate refutation of his theory, which also fails to account for SALVIS COMANIPVLIS being such a frequent addition to these records.

Henzen<sup>3</sup> at first supposed the *sebaciaria* to be illuminations held by the Vigiles on attaining citizenship after three years' service. This was based on the remark COMMEATV STIPENDIORVM TRIVM, which occurs

<sup>1</sup> *La stazione della Coorte VII. dei Vigili*, P. E. Visconti, Rome, 1867. Dr. Ashby tells me, in support of Visconti's theory, that in the recent illuminations of St. Peter's at Rome in connexion with the Jubilee Year 1925, flares made of tallow were used; and he points out that the job of putting such flares in position on almost inaccessible parts of the building was one involving considerable danger.

<sup>2</sup> VOTIS X and VOTIS XX together in July and November 221 (*C. I. L.* vi. 2999, 3065), in July of a year of Alexander not specified (*ib.* 3012), and somewhat dubiously in 227 with no month given (*ib.* 3019). VOTIS X by itself, again of July, in a year of Alexander (*ib.* 3062) and of February 229 with the addition CONGIAR · X · AVREOS (*ib.* 2998).

<sup>3</sup> *Bull.* 1867, pp. 12-30.

three times ;<sup>1</sup> this explained nothing but the remark on which it was based. His second view was that the *sebaciaria* was the task of providing all illumination for the cohort, for barracks, patrols, festivals, &c., and that this duty was performed by a private soldier for a month at a time, at his own expense !<sup>2</sup> This view is based on the remarks BONO SVO<sup>3</sup> and FYSGO SVO,<sup>4</sup> which latter is supposed to be the same as *fisco suo*. Besides the fact that FYSGO is an extremely improbable variation for *fisco*, it is doubtful if *fisco suo* could be used for *sua pecunia*, while the explanation itself is highly unlikely, and equally fails to account for *salvis comanipulis*.

Capannari<sup>5</sup> suggested that the *sebaciaria* was the nightly round of lamp-lighting in the streets of Rome, and he supposed that the lighting of the streets was begun by Caracalla some time between 210 and 215. This date was selected to account for the non-appearance of Sebaciarii in the nominal rolls, but there is no evidence for it : nor does this theory explain the comments in the graffiti.

A more probable line of explanation is that of Desjardins.<sup>6</sup> He started with the title Sebaciarius, which occurs frequently,<sup>7</sup> and assuming that to mean a man who carried a tallow light—its most natural meaning—he took the *sebaciaria* to be the duty of carrying lights on the ordinary nightly patrols of the streets of Rome. This explains why the duty is performed by a private soldier, and accounts sufficiently well for the exclama-

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3001, 3011, 3069.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann.* 1874, p. 122. So too Lovatelli, *Scritti Vari.*, Rome, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3028; Capannari, No. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 3067.

<sup>5</sup> *B. C.* 1886, pp. 251-65.

<sup>6</sup> *Mémoires de l'Accad. des Insc. et Belles Lettres*, xxviii (1876), 2. Note sur les inscriptions du corps de garde de la viii<sup>me</sup> coh. des Vigiles.

<sup>7</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3013, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3053, 3077.

tions *omnia tuta, feliciter, salvis comanipulis*, and *lassus sum*.<sup>1</sup> Such other remarks as *votis x, salvo domino nostro*,<sup>2</sup> must then be incidental, and due to the particular time when that particular individual performed the duty, not to the duty itself.

The objections to this theory are more general. As has been said above, it would be more natural to suppose that these main patrols came from the station of the cohort, not from an excubitorium, and that they would be under a Centurion, not an Optio or a Tesserarius. Further, one does not see that the risk run by these patrols would be sufficient to warrant the exclamations that occur in the graffiti.

In these circumstances there is more to be said for the theory of Nocella,<sup>3</sup> who confines *sebaciaria* to patrols of a special and more arduous nature. He suggests that the special task may have been the search for and capture of runaway slaves, which, at any rate from the time of Caracalla, was a part of the duty of the Vigiles.<sup>4</sup> His ingenious explanations of *FYSGO SVO* and of other comments need not be mentioned here.

Without narrowing it down to the particular object suggested by Nocella, I am inclined to think his line of explanation the most probable till some further evidence can be obtained.

It seems to me that the meaning of *Sebaciarius* must be a man who carries a tallow light, and that '*sebaciaria fecit*' is a way of saying 'performed the duty of *Sebaciarius*': and it is quite natural that this expression should be confined to the performance of that duty

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 3072.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 3004.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Iscrizioni graffite nell' Escubitorio della Settima Coorte dei Vigili. Interpretazione di Carlo Nocella*, Rome, Forzani, 1887.

<sup>4</sup> *Digest.* I. 15. 4



VII. THE EASTERN FAÇADE OF THE BARRACKS OF VIGILES AT OSTIA  
Showing the main entrance and slit windows





in some particular method, and for some particular purpose. From the comments in the graffiti it seems that the particular purpose in question was some night duty of considerable danger, of more danger perhaps to the lantern-bearer, from his exposed position, than to the rest of the force. What this duty was I prefer to leave unspecified; but it was evidently part of the regular routine of the detachment on duty at the excubitorium, and was performed under the orders of a N.C.O., and possibly only from this particular excubitorium in the Trans Tiberim region.

It now remains to speak of one other special duty of the Vigiles, namely, the policing of the port of Ostia.

The detachment there has already been mentioned once or twice, but the subject needs fuller treatment, particularly as the barracks there have been fully excavated, and are thus the only building of the Vigiles we have which we can examine in its entirety. In addition to the interest of the arrangements of the building itself, several important inscriptions have been found in it which have contributed to our knowledge of the force in general no less than to the study of the *Vexillatio* at Ostia in particular.

The building in question is a rectangle  $41.55 \times 69.48$  metres,<sup>1</sup> with its longer axis east and west. It consists of an open courtyard, with an entrance on three sides, and rooms all round. It had certainly two stories above the ground floor, and possibly, to judge by the other houses in Ostia, a third.

It appears to have been originally a private house which was taken over by the government for the Vigiles

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani, *N. S.* 1889, p. 37.

in the latter part of the reign of Hadrian.<sup>1</sup> An inscription tells us that it was restored by Septimius Severus,<sup>2</sup> when the large windows, which it had in common with the other houses at Ostia, were partially blocked up, leaving only the narrow slits so characteristic of Roman military buildings. At the same time the entrances to the north and south were walled up, leaving only that on the east, the western end of the building having a row of shops against it on the outside.<sup>1</sup>

At some later period this row of shops was incorporated in the quarters of the Vigiles, while at an even later date, when the detachment no longer came to Ostia, various parts of the building were converted into private dwellings.<sup>3</sup>

At the western end of the court was a shrine of the Emperors, where still stand the bases of statues of Antoninus Pius,<sup>4</sup> Aelius Caesar,<sup>5</sup> Marcus Aurelius,<sup>6</sup> Lucius Verus,<sup>7</sup> and Septimius Severus.<sup>8</sup> Lanciani suggests that the last-mentioned was substituted for one of Hadrian when the aforesaid restoration took place, as he is rather out of place in the Antonine family party on the bema.<sup>9</sup> In front of this shrine is a well-preserved black and white mosaic, with sacrificial scenes, probably representing what took place on the spot. We may suppose that each station of Vigiles in Rome had some similar sacred precinct for the Imperial cult.

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani, *N. S.* 1889, pp. 19, 74 ff. Plate VII. In the plan the southern entrance is shown open: the filling was removed by the excavators.

<sup>2</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1204.

<sup>3</sup> Vaglieri, *N. S.* 1912, pp. 24, 50, 169 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1198. Plate VIII.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 1197.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 1199, 2000.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* 1201.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* 1203.

<sup>9</sup> *N. S.* 1889, pp. 73, 77.



VIII. THE AUGUSTEUM IN THE BARRACKS AT OSTIA

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LIBRARY



Other Imperial statues were set up in the court itself, to Septimius Severus,<sup>1</sup> Caracalla,<sup>2</sup> and Iulia Domna,<sup>3</sup> and to Gordian III<sup>4</sup> and Tranquillina.<sup>5</sup> Another, to Diadumenianus,<sup>6</sup> probably stood there, but his name was erased, and the base moved, probably in 218.

The rooms to the west of this 'Augusteum' were originally approached by a passage on either side of it, but when the other closures took place the one to the south was walled up. Possibly this portion of the building was reserved for administrative offices and officers' quarters: it has a staircase from the first floor communicating with the street on the north<sup>7</sup>—the only entrance to the barracks besides the main gate on the east. The passage running across the western end of the building must have been an open courtyard to give light to the rooms backing on the Augusteum. The room in the north-west corner was originally a latrine, but this was altered when the shops to the west were incorporated in the barracks, for one of them is only accessible through it. In it was found the dedication to Diadumenianus. The men's latrine was in a corresponding position in the south-east corner.

The room immediately to the north of the Augusteum has the travertine threshold deeply grooved, as if for the passage of wheels: it has therefore been suggested that the fire-engine was kept here. The only egress from the barracks for an engine was by the main gate on the east, and there are no signs of wheel-ruts of the same gauge upon the threshold there, though it is much worn by the passage of feet, and has therefore not been

<sup>1</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1204.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 1205, 1207.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 1206.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 1210.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 1211.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 1209.

<sup>7</sup> After the inclusion of the shops, another opening into the street on the west. *N. S.* 1889, p. 79.

recently renewed. Further, one can see no reasons for the selection of that particular room as an engine-shed : it is most inconveniently situated as regards the main entrance, and if the vehicle in question was at all large the corner pilaster of the colonnade of the court must have made the getting of it in and out a matter of considerable difficulty. The grooves in the threshold, moreover, are cut, not worn, and so need not be due to wheels at all : though it is difficult to explain them otherwise. If the engine was only a small two-wheeled, hand-propelled vehicle it could certainly easily have been got into this room, but the question still remains as to why it was kept so far from the door, while the presence of two water-troughs in the eastern corners of the atrium seems to point to the use of horses : these troughs, however, may quite likely be washing-places.

Excluding the rooms next to and behind the Augusteum, and those opening off the passage to the north of it, there are twenty rooms round the atrium. With four stories, this makes eighty rooms available for the rank and file. Ten men to a room is a fair average, but on the assumption that most of the rooms on the ground floor were occupied for other purposes, such as guard-room, latrine, Q.M. store, &c., and in view of the fact that four of the rooms on each floor are only half the size of the others, we may take it that about 600 men could be accommodated in the barracks.

And this is about the number that the inscriptions indicate as forming the Vexillatio at Ostia.

Under Augustus the VIth Praetorian cohort was quartered at Ostia, and to give help in cases of fire was apparently part of its duties. This is known because we are fortunate in having the gravestone of one of its men who was given a public funeral by the colony



after losing his life 'in incendio restinguendo':<sup>1</sup> there are also one or two other inscriptions referring to this cohort.<sup>2</sup>

The Praetorians were moved to Rome by Tiberius in A.D. 23, and it seems that no other troops were sent to take their place till the reign of Claudius, who 'Puteolis et Ostiae singulas cohortes ad arcendos incendiorum casus collocavit'.<sup>3</sup> It is fairly certain that the units in question were Urban cohorts (whose number Claudius probably increased at the same time as he did that of the Praetorians), for the cohort from Ostia figures in the events of A.D. 69, and both Tacitus and Plutarch tells us it was the XVIIth.<sup>4</sup>

Vespasian reduced the numbers of the city troops, and probably the Urban cohort was withdrawn from Ostia by him: but when the detachment of Vigiles was detailed to take its place is not known. The barracks, as has been said, were taken over by Hadrian, and possibly he first sent the Vigiles, as he certainly did some reorganization at the colony:<sup>5</sup> Trajan's activities were mostly confined to the other side of the river.

From Hadrian onwards the Vexillatio of Vigiles came regularly to Ostia for more than two centuries; coins up to the reign of Julian were found in the barracks,<sup>6</sup> and an inscription of the Vigiles from Portus bears the date of A.D. 386.<sup>7</sup> That is the last record of them in the vicinity, and all that can be said definitely is that the detachment must have ceased to come before the final

<sup>1</sup> *N. S.* 1912, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 2609, xiv. 215, 223; *N. S.* 1910, p. 514.

<sup>3</sup> *Suet. Claud.* 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Tac. Hist.* i. 80; *Plut. Otho.* 3.

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. L.* xiv. 95. IMP · CAES · HADRIANO, &c. . . . COLONIA OSTIA CONSERVATA ET AVCTA . . . LIBERALITATE EIVS, A.D. 133.

<sup>6</sup> Lanciani, *N. S.* 1889, p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> *C. I. L.* xiv. 231.

abandonment of the town, since, as has been said, private individuals established themselves in the barracks.

The Vexillatio was under the command of a Praepositus, who was one of the Tribunes commanding cohorts,<sup>1</sup> and the frequent mention (from Septimius Severus onwards) of the Sub-prefect in conjunction with the Praepositus would seem to indicate that this official was in some way specially concerned with this duty.<sup>2</sup> Possibly he spent part of the year at Ostia, and during his absence a Curator Cohortium was appointed at Rome. Possibly, too, a Curator Cohortis was appointed to command the cohort during the absence of the Tribune.<sup>3</sup>

The Tribune was not away very long, however; the Vexillatio stayed at Ostia four months, the reliefs taking place on the Ides of April, August, and December,<sup>4</sup> and it seems fairly clear that the Praepositus was changed during the period, for we find two,<sup>5</sup> or even three,<sup>6</sup> Tribunes mentioned in inscriptions referring to a single Vexillatio.

The detachment consisted of four centuries, four centuries being clearly mentioned in the dedication to Gordian III,<sup>7</sup> and not quite so clearly in other cases.<sup>8</sup> It thus numbered about 600 men. These centuries were not all from the same cohort, and in fact were usually all from different cohorts,<sup>8</sup> and it is fairly clear that they

<sup>1</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1203-1207, 1210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* Cf. also 1209.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 37, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1215, ix (1913), 459; *A. E.* 1912, 230, 239, 240; *C. I. L.* xiv. 230. Cf. *N. S.* 1911, p. 366, 1912, pp. 242, 277, 328.

<sup>5</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1215; *A. E.* 1912, 239.

<sup>6</sup> *N. S.* 1911, p. 369, painted on the plaster of the room north of the latrine, and still clearly legible.

<sup>7</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1210.

<sup>8</sup> *C. I. L.* xiv. 13 (from Portus); *A. E.* 1912, 239. With two centuries of different cohorts, *C. I. L.* xiv. 6.

were composite formations of men detached for the duty, and not complete units. Thus we find a list of men of the Vth cohort of the century of Respectus under the command of the centurion Tettius Paulinus of the same cohort.<sup>1</sup>

This composite century had either an Optio,<sup>2</sup> or a Tesserarius,<sup>3</sup> apparently of the same century as the centurion, and the Tribune had a Cornicularius,<sup>4</sup> presumably his own, who was obviously Adjutant of the detachment.

Of other ranks only a Buccinator,<sup>5</sup> a Beneficiarius Praefecti,<sup>6</sup> and a Secutor Tribuni<sup>7</sup> have left record of their presence at Ostia.

One inscription of Vigiles from Portus has been mentioned already, and several others have been found there. One of these is interesting,<sup>8</sup> as it mentions the Tribune Cassius Ligus of the IVth cohort, who was Praepositus Vexillationis at Ostia in A.D. 195;<sup>9</sup> and thus it seems that the commander at Ostia was also responsible for the town across the river, at any rate from the time of Septimius Severus.

We have thus a fairly complete knowledge of the Vexillatio at Ostia, a knowledge which has been gained entirely from records left to us by the Vigiles themselves; which makes one wonder what might be discovered if as thorough an excavation were made of one of the

<sup>1</sup> *A. E.* 1911, 240. Cf. also *N. S.* 1912, p. 366, COH · III · 7 PRISCI ... [SVB] 7 ALBANO APHRO.

<sup>2</sup> *A. E.* 1912, 240; *C. I. L.* xiv. 230; *E. E.* vii (1892), 1213; *N. S.* 1911, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> *N. S.* 1911, p. 369.

<sup>4</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1210, 1214(?).

<sup>5</sup> Correra, *B. C.* 1895, p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> *C. I. L.* xiv. 226; *E. E.* vii (1892), 1214; *N. S.* 1911, p. 209.

<sup>7</sup> *N. S.* 1911, p. 369.

<sup>8</sup> *C. I. L.* xiv. 13.

<sup>9</sup> *E. E.* vii (1892), 1203.

stations in Rome as has been carried out by Lanciani and Vaglieri in the barracks at Ostia.

Of other duties of the Vigiles we have no record. We do not know if the Urban cohort at Puteoli was also replaced in the same manner as that at Ostia;<sup>1</sup> and there seems to be no foundation for assuming that there were Vigiles at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli.<sup>2</sup> The building there known as the Caserma dei Vigili has slit windows like those at Ostia, but no record of the force has been found in it, which is odd if it was occupied by them. It was probably a granary.

The Vigiles at Ravenna in the late Empire were a separate organization,<sup>3</sup> as were those at Nemausus,<sup>4</sup> Lugdunum,<sup>5</sup> and other provincial towns.

The Ostian Vexillatio, so far as we know, was the only extra-urban duty of the Vigiles, and in view of the close relations between the port and the capital even that may be classed as urban.

In this connexion, however, one may mention the fact that in the conflict of Claudius Gothicus and Victorinus

<sup>1</sup> Grave-stones of Vigiles from Puteoli prove nothing. *C. I. L.* x. 1767, 1768.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide Röm. Mitt.* xxi (1907), pp. 321, 331.

<sup>3</sup> Cassiod., *Var.* vii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.* xii. 3002, 3166, 3210, 3213, 3223, 3232, 3247, 3259, 3274, 3296, 3303. *Vide* also Hirschfeld, *Gallische Studien*, iii. *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad. d. W.* cvii (1884), pp. 239-57, on the whole subject of provincial fire brigades.

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. L.* xiii. 1745, I·O·M· | DEPVL SORI ET | DIIS DEABVS·QVE | OMNIBVS ET | GENIO LOCI | T·FLAV·LATINIANVS | PRAEFECTVS | VIGILVM &c. . . . found at Lugdunum. Werner (*op. cit.*, p. 79) following Hirschfeld (cf. App. A) includes Latinianus in his list of Roman Praefecti Vigilum. One wonders why this Praefect should have been setting up altars at Lyons (but cf. *infra*). The man is probably Praef. Vig. of Lugdunum. Werner identifies him with the erased name of *E. E.* vii (1892), 1203, but is silent as to the origin of *C. I. L.* xiii. 1745.

a Roman Prefect of Vigiles is found in command of detachments of the army in Gaul.<sup>1</sup> The inscription does not mention that any men of that corps were included in the force under his command, so we may presume that it was only the Prefect engaged on this special task. In his absence his place in Rome was probably taken by a Vice-prefect.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* xii. 2228.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *C. I. L.* viii. 822, and App. A.

## VI

### RECREATION AND RELIGION

NOTHING has been said so far about the lighter side of the Vigiles' life—messing, amusements, and suchlike : and indeed there is very little to be said.

Pliny tells us,<sup>1</sup> apropos of the deadly properties of fungi, that 'nuper interemere tota convivia, Annaeum Serenum, prefectum Neronis vigilum, et tribunos centurionesque' : from which we might conjecture that the Prefect was a member of the officers' mess of the 1st cohort. But if it is not pressing the words too much, the plural *tribunos* may show that this was no ordinary mess dinner, but some special occasion on which the Prefect saw fit to dine with his officers : unfortunately with fatal results.

With regard to the men's messing arrangements we know nothing beyond the fact that they had their *frumentum publicum* : but possibly, being townsmen, they did not share with the rest of the army that curious aversion to a meat diet.<sup>2</sup> Still, the absence of cooks from the nominal rolls of the Vth cohort would seem to show that the men cooked their own food.

An interesting inscription survives which tells us of games held by the Vigiles in the year 212 'acroamatibus suis', in conjunction with men of the detachment of the Imperial fleet of Misenum quartered in the capital. The

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Nat.* xxii. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 24.



performance was apparently so successful that it was repeated later, possibly on the occasion of Caracalla's birthday.<sup>1</sup>

Another piece of evidence as to how the Vigiles spent their time is to be found in the mosaic floors of three drinking-shops immediately outside the gate of the barracks at Ostia:<sup>2</sup> while both in that barracks<sup>3</sup> and in the excubitorium of the VIIth cohort is good testimony that writing on the wall was a favourite amusement. At Ostia one man wrote his name on the gate-post three times, presumably while waiting to be admitted.

Another side of the Vigiles' life of which nothing has been said so far is religion.

The religious practices and observances of the Roman army form a highly specialized study with which I am not competent to deal, and a lengthy treatment of which would be out of place here. This review of the Vigiles would be incomplete, however, without some reference to the subject.

As is well known, the principal religious practice of the Roman army was the cult of the signa,<sup>4</sup> and with this was joined that of the Emperor. This junction was effected in some cases by putting medallions of the Emperor upon the signa, but only, as von Domaszewski points out, upon signa which had no tactical function, that is, upon the signum of a unit, not upon those of its component parts. Thus, in the case of a Legion, whose eagle never had such additions, and of units such as the Auxilliary cohorts and Vigiles, which had no cohortial

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 1063, 1064.

<sup>2</sup> *N. S.* 1912, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> Correra in *B. C.* 1895, p. 211, for graffiti inside. For those on gate-posts, *N. S.* 1912, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* iii. 6. 2, 'religio Romanorum tota castrensis signa veneratur, signa iurat, signa omnibus deis praeponit'.

signum, separate Imagines of the Emperors were carried, which took their place with the signa in the joint cult.<sup>1</sup>

As has already been pointed out, the Vigiles were the only infantry in the army whose regular ensign was a vexillum; and this was probably arranged deliberately to distinguish them from the other troops.<sup>2</sup> It is thus quite possible that the Vigiles had no cult of the standards at all, which would have been an even greater line of demarcation between police and military.

On the contrary, it is possible that the vexillum of the Vexillatio at Ostia may have taken a place in the worship of the Emperor, for such vexilla probably bore the Emperor's name;<sup>3</sup> but there is no trace of it in the Imperial shrine in the barracks, nor on the whole is it likely that this Vexillatio had a proper vexillum, if the regular cohorts had no signum, for the vexillum of such a detachment was *in loco signi*. There were possibly vexilla for the four composite centuries forming the detachment (though we find no mention of Vexillarii at Ostia), but, if so, they were of the same standing as the centurial vexilla of the rest of the force—in all probability purely tactical ensigns.

The all-importance of the Imperial cult among the Vigiles is clearly shown by the dominant position of the Augusteum in the Ostian barracks, and no less by the large number of dedications to Emperors, which form the greater part of the epigraphic records of the Vigiles in Rome: while the games referred to above were most probably connected with this cult. We must imagine then that each station in Rome had a shrine similar to, but more elaborate than, that at Ostia, and that in it were housed the Imperial Imagines. The

<sup>1</sup> Dom. *Fahnen*, p. 72. Cf. *supra*, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Dom. *Fahnen*, p. 77.

sacrifices of bulls depicted in the Ostian mosaic were evidently part of the ritual of the Emperor-worship.

Another cult of which we have plenty of evidence for the Vigiles is that of Genii. This cult was universal throughout the army, and dedications have come down to us addressed to the genius of almost every conceivable military formation and habitation.<sup>1</sup>

We have a dedication by a Prefect to the genius of all the cohorts of Vigiles, particularly the first,<sup>2</sup> and two or three records of the construction of aediculae to the genius of a century.<sup>3</sup> There is also the graffito which mentions the genius of the excubitorium of the VIIth cohort,<sup>4</sup> and it is quite possible that the beautiful aedicula, which is now the most prominent feature of those excavations, was sacred to that Divinity. Several votive terra-cotta heads, apparently female, and wearing a mitra, were found in the excavation of the excubitorium, and it is possible that these were offerings at the shrine of the genius.<sup>5</sup> The expense lavished on the aediculae of the centurial genii shows that this cult was extremely popular, and thus it is curious that there is no trace at Ostia of a genius castrorum, or, for that matter (with one exception), of any cult other than the Imperial.

The one exception is the small aedicula and altar to Fortuna in the men's latrine.<sup>6</sup>

The evidence for other cults among the Vigiles is meagre in the extreme, dedications to only two other divinities having survived. The more important of these is the inscription of the IIInd cohort referring to the sacrarium of Iuppiter Dolichenus.<sup>7</sup> In the same neigh-

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Dom. Relig., pp. 95 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 233, GENIO · COHH · PRIMAE, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 219, 221, 222; cf. 220.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 3010.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull.* 1867, pp. 8-30.

<sup>6</sup> *N. S.* 1911, p. 209.

<sup>7</sup> *C. I. L.* vi. 414.

bourhood were found three other dedications to Dolichenus, one of them by a man of the fleet of Misenum, and a host of dedications to various divinities, some of them very peculiar, by men of the Praetorian Guard, who were all of barbarian extraction, the majority of them being Thracians. How all these cults fit in together is a difficult question for both religion and topography, and I do not propose to try to answer it. One may, however, notice the theory that it was part of Septimius Severus' policy of 'barbarizing' the army, to keep the troops in Rome to themselves by encouraging foreign cults and establishing purely military sanctuaries of this type.<sup>1</sup>

Iuppiter Dolichenus, of course, was quite a popular divinity throughout the army, as was also Silvanus,<sup>2</sup> who figures frequently in the inscriptions mentioned above, and to whom the only other surviving dedication of the Vigiles is addressed.<sup>3</sup>

There is one other inscription recording a religious festival of the Vigiles, but the name of the divinity in whose honour it was held has perished.<sup>4</sup>

The Contessa Lovatelli<sup>5</sup> suggests that the corps had a particular cult of Stata Mater, who was invoked in cases of fire, and that it took a special part in the feast of the Volcanalia, and in the sacrifices held annually 'incendiorum arcendorum causa' from Domitian to Macrinus;<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the whole subject *vide* B. C. 1875, pp. 83-117 for the inscriptions of Praetorians, and *ib.*, pp. 204-20, for dedications to Dolichenus.

<sup>2</sup> Dom. *Relig.*, pp. 57 ff. for Dolichenus, p. 53 for Silvanus.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. L. vi. 643.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.* 3744 = 31075.

<sup>5</sup> *Scritti Vari*, p. 202, Inscriptions of Stata Mater; C. I. L. vi. 762-6.

<sup>6</sup> On this subject *vide* Lanciani, B. C. 1889, p. 331; also C. I. L. vi. 826.

and in this connexion one may note that one Sub-prefect of Vigiles was also a Flamen Vulcani.<sup>1</sup>

But here we are getting on to the road of mere conjecture, which cannot profitably be followed further without evidence for a guide. Indeed, any attempt to give a comprehensive account of the Vigiles is something of an adventure without a guide, for though there is plenty of evidence, by far the largest part of it is of the third century. For the first and second centuries one can work back with the finger-posts which the third century offers, but forward into the fourth century and beyond is a journey in the dark.

The latter end of the Vigiles and their ultimate fate are completely unknown : they pass out of history with the gradual disintegration of the Rome over the security of whose citizens, and over the safety of whose fabric, they kept watch and guard for five centuries.

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* vi. 1628.

## APPENDIX A

## LIST OF PREFECTS OF VIGILES, AND OF SUB-PREFECTS

This list is largely that of Hirschfeld (*Römische Verwaltungsgeschichte* (1876), p. 145) with additions.

<i>Emperor.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Name of Prefect.</i>	<i>References and Remarks.</i>	<i>Name of Sub-Prefect.</i>	<i>References.</i>
Tiberius.	?	C. AI . . . . FLA . . . . .	<i>C. I. L.</i> xiv. 3947.		
	31.	P. Graecinius Laco.	Dio. lviii. 9; <i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 31857. Afterwards decorated with ornamenta consularia. Dio. lxx. 23; <i>C. I. L.</i> v. 3340.		
Claudius.	?-48. **	Decius Calpurnianus.	Put to death in 48 for complicity in Silius-Messalina intrigue. Tac. <i>Ann.</i> xi. 35.		
Nero.	54* - ?	Laelianus.	Dio. (epit.) lxi. 6.		
	?-62. **	Sofonius Tigellinus.	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> i. 72. Afterwards Praef. Praet. Tac. <i>Ann.</i> xiv. 51, &c.		
	? 62-before 65.	Annaeus Serenus.	Pliny, <i>Hist. Nat.</i> xxii. 96. Died in office from eating fungi before Seneca's death. Cf. Sen. <i>Ep. Mor.</i> 63. 14-15.		
Otho.	?-69. **	Plotius Firmus.	Afterwards Praef. Praet. Tac. <i>Hist.</i> i. 46.		



Vespasian or Titus.	Before 81.	C. Tetius Afri- canus.	Afterwards Praef. Ann. Praef. Aegypti in 82. <i>C. I. L.</i> xi. 5382. Cf. iii. 35.	
Trajan.	?	Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 798. Cf. Pliny, <i>Ep.</i> i. 17, v. 8, viii. 12.	
	-111-113-.	Q. Rammius Martialis.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 221, 222. Afterwards Praef. Aegypti. <i>C. I. L.</i> iii. 14137. i.	113. C. Maesius Tertius. <i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 221.
Hadrian.	<i>circa</i> 120.	T. Haterius Nepos.	Praef. Aegypti in 121. <i>C. I. L.</i> xi. 5212, 3, 4.	
Antoninus Pius.	-156-158.**	C. Tattius Maximus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 222. Afterwards Praef. Praet. <i>Hist. Augg. Vit. Pii.</i> 8, 7.	156. T. Flavius Anterotianus. <i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 222.
	158*-159.**	T. Furius Victorinus.	Dessau, 9002. Cf. <i>C. I. L.</i> v. 648.*? vi. 1937, *xiv. 440.* Huelssen in <i>Asomna</i> II. 1907, p. 71. Praef. Aegypti in 160. Praef. Praet. Ornamenta consularia.	<i>C. I. L.</i> v. 8660. Procurator in various provinces, 'Praeses' of Rhactia in 166.
Marcus Aurelius.	-168-.	M. Bassaeus Kufus.	<i>A. E.</i> 1912. 239. Afterwards Praef. Praet. <i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1599. Discovery of former inscription shows the restoration Praef. Ann. given in Corpus (and preferred by Hirschfeld) to be wrong.	

\* Signifies known date of beginning of period of office.

\*\* Signifies known date of end of period of office.

<i>Emperor.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Name of Prefect.</i>	<i>References and Remarks.</i>	<i>Name of Sub-Prefect.</i>	<i>References.</i>
Marcus Aurelius.	?	Vmbrius Aemilianus.	<i>N. S.</i> , 1911, p. 369. Date quite uncertain, but the other similar inscriptions from Ostia are of this period.	? Senecio.	<i>N. S.</i> 1911, p. 369.
Commodus.	181.	Sempronius Laetus.	<i>A. E.</i> 1912, 240.	181. Sempronius Urbanus.	<i>A. E.</i> 1912, 240.
	?	Aelius Iulianus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 414. ? Afterwards Praef. Praet. Dio. lxxii. 14. <i>Vil. Com.</i> i. 1.		
	191.	Clodius Catullus	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 414.	191. Orbilius Laetianus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 414.
Septimius Severus	-199-200-.	T. Flavius Magnus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 220, 3761.		
and	-203-205.**	C. Iunius Rufinus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 220. 1055. Ulp. <i>Dig.</i> I. 15. 4	203. C. Iunius Balbus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 220.
Caracalla.	205*-207-.	Cn. Marcus Rustius Rufinus. E. V.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1056, ix. 1582, 1583, x. 1127; <i>E. E.</i> vii (1892), 1204, 1205, 1206.	207. C. Laecanius Novatillianus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1621; <i>E. E.</i> vii. 1204, 5, 6. 'Turis Peritus.
	-210-211-.	C. Iulius Quintilianus. EM. V.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1058, 1059; <i>E. E.</i> vii (1892), 1207.	-210-212-. M. Firmius Amyntianus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1058, 1059, 1063, <i>E. E.</i> vii. 1207.
	?	Ti. Claudius Vibianus Tertullus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> iii. 7126. At a time when there were two Augusti. Hirschfeld puts him in this reign.		
Caracalla alone.	212.	Cerellius Apollinaris.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1063.		

Macrinus.	217.	Valerius Titianus.	<i>E. E.</i> vii (1892), 1209.	217. Flavius Lupus.	<i>E. E.</i> vii. 1209.
Heliogabalus.	?	Cordius, ?	<i>Hist. Augg. Vit. Elag.</i> 12. Γόδιος. Dio. lxxix (epit.) 15. Hirschfeld suggests he is to be identified with next name.		
	? 221 or 222.	(A)ur(elius) Concordius.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1226. Hirschfeld says 'nach seinem Name könnte er ein Freigelassener des Elagabal sein'. If so, date must be after adoption of Alexander, for inscription ends D·N·M·Q·E·O·R·V·M. He may be much later.	221 or 222. Salvius	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1226.
Alexander Severus.	223.	C. Iulius Paternus. EM. (V).	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 3960.		
	225.	Cr... Severinus.	Wilmann, 1052, e.		
	226 ?	Aelius Florianus. P. V.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 226.		
	Between 226 and 244.	Herennius Modestinus. P. V.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 226. 'Iuris Consultus.	239. Aelius Spectatus. V. E.	<i>E. E.</i> vii (1892), 1210.
Gordian III.	241.	... Ilius Philippus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1092. Possibly remaining letters of nomen copied wrong (inscription only exists in MSS.) and should be Iulius, i. e. Philip Emperor, who became Praet. in 243.	241. Marcus Montanus.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1092, ? 3908. In 1092 called C·V·R·C·O·H·H·V·I·G·. <i>vide</i> p. 37, n. 1.

\* Signifies known date of beginning of period of office.

\*\* Signifies known date of end of period of office.

<i>Emperor.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Name of Prefect.</i>	<i>References and Remarks.</i>	<i>Name of Sub-Prefect.</i>	<i>References.</i>
Gordian III.	Between 241 and 244.	Valerius Valens. V.P.	<i>E. E.</i> vii (1892), 1211, when inscription set up was Vices-agens Praef. Praet. EE.MM. VV.	Between 241 and 244. Valerius Alexander. V.E.	<i>E. E.</i> vii. 1211, when inscription set up was V.A. Praef. Vig. & Julius Magnus, Sub-Praef. Ann. was V. A. Sub-Praef. Vig. Cf. <i>C. I. L.</i> x. 33360.
	244?	Fultonius Restitutus. P.V.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 266. 'Praeses Mauretinae Caesariensis' still under Gordian.		
	?	Sempronianus.	Cf. <i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 3038. The letters P. N. may possibly stand for Praefectus noster.		
Valerian and Gallienus	<i>circa</i> 258.	Ti. Petronius Sabinus. Taurus Volusianus. P.V.	<i>C. I. L.</i> xi. 1836. Afterwards Praef. Praet. EM. V. Cos. ord. V.C. 261; Praef. Vrb. 267.		
Claudius Gothicus.	269.	Julius Placidianus. V.P.	<i>C. I. L.</i> xii. 2228. Praef. Praet. V.C. <i>C. I. L.</i> xii. 1551. Cos. 273.		
Constantine.	?	Postumius Isidorus. V.C.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1144.		
	Between 333 and 337.	Rupilius Pisonianus. V.C.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 1157. Dedication to Constans as Caesar.		
	?	Aurelius Maximilianus. V.C.	<i>C. I. L.</i> vi. 233. Post-Diocletianic, as he is V.C. and ergo Pre-Valentinian, when Prefects are again V.P.		

Valentinian and Gratian.	375 and 383.	Flavius Maximus, V.P.	C. I. L. vi. 1180, 1181.
?	?	P. Aelius Apollinaris, V.P.	E. E. ix (1913), 776. Of Christian times 'probably earlier than a similar inscription (C. I. L. xiv. 2934) of A.D. 385,' N.B. Praef. Vigilius.
OF UNKNOWN DATE			
		... Scaevola.	E. E. vii (1892). From barracks at Ostia so not earlier than Hadrian.
?	?	? Erycius Clarus.	Paulus, <i>Digg.</i> I. 15. 3, 'ita Divus Antoninus Erycio Claro rescriptit'. Clarus must have been Praef. Vrbi (Gell. 7. 6. 12, 13. 8. 2) if he is the same man who was Cos II in 146. It is unlikely that there was another Erycius Clarus at this time who was Praef. Vig. Hirschfeld, holding that the rescript must be addressed to a Praef. Vig., takes him to be a different man, and takes Divus Antoninus to be Caracalla.
? Alexander Severus.		C. Attius Alci- mus Felicianus, P.V.	C. I. L. viii. 822. Vice-Praef. Vig. Afterwards Praef. Ann. & Vice-Praef. Praet.
			Ti. Claudius Zeno. Ulpianus. V.E.
			C. I. L. xi. 6337. Probably third century.

E. E. viii (1892), 1203, (of A. D. 195) 1210, (of Gordian III) 1214, (date?) all give the office with the holder's name missing. Werner gives also C. Percennius Reginus as Prefect, from C. I. L. vi. 2966. This is a mere blunder. The inscription clearly says: B(eneficiarius) PRAEF(ecti). *Vide* also p. 114, note 5.

## APPENDIX B

PAVLVS. DE OFFICIO PRAEFECTI VIGILVM

*Digest, I. 15, iii. e 1.*

(1) Cognoscit praefectus vigilum de incendiariis, effractoribus, furibus, raptoribus, receptatoribus, nisi qua tam atrox tamque famosa persona sit ut praefecto urbi remittatur. et quia plerumque incendia culpa fiunt inhabitantium, aut fustibus castigat eos qui negligenter ignem habuerunt aut severa interlocutione comminatus fustium castigationem remittit.

(2) effracturae fiunt plerumque in insulis in horreisque ubi homines pretiosissimam partem fortunarum suarum reponunt, quum vel cella effringitur, vel armarium vel arca, et custodes plerumque puniuntur, ut Divus Antoninus Erycio Claro rescripsit. ait enim posse eum horreis effractis quaestionem habere de servis custodibus, licet in illis ipsius imperatoris portio esset.

(3) sciendum est autem praefectum vigilum per totam noctem vigilare debere et coerrare calceatum cum hamis et dolabris.

(4) ut curam adhibeant omnes inquilinos admonere ne negligentia aliqua incendii casus oriatur, praeterea aquam unusquisque inquilinus in coenaculo habeat, iubetur admonere.

(5) adversus capsarios quoque, qui mercede servanda in balneis vestimenta suscipiunt, iudex est constitutus, ut si quid in servandis vestimentis fraudulenter admiserint, ipse cognoscat.



## APPENDIX C

### *Staff of the Prefect of Vigiles.*

2	Cornicularii.
1	Commentariensis.
1	Tabularius.
35	Beneficarii (5 per cohort).
? 1	Princeps Tabularii.
7	Actarii (1 per cohort).
14	A Quaestionibus (2 per cohort).

---

? 1	Librarius Instrumentorum Depositorum.
? 1	Exactus.

---

Total    63            Regularly 8 per cohort, with 7 extras.

### *Staff of the Sub-Prefect of Vigiles.*

1	Cornicularius.
7	Beneficarii (1 per cohort).

---

1    Librarius.

---

Total    9            Regularly 1 per cohort, with 2 extras.

### *Staff of the Tribune of the Cohort.*

1	Cornicularius.
---	----------------

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12	Beneficarii.
14	Secutores.
11	Codicillarii.
2	Exceptores.
1	Librarius.
? 7	Buccinatores.

---

Total    48

### *Technical Staff of the Cohort.*

1-3	Imaginiferi.
3	Optiones Ballistarum ?
1	Optio Armamentarii.

3	Optiones Carceris.
1	Optio Convalescentium.
1	Victimarius.
1	Carcerarius.
1	Horrarius Cohortis ?
1	Cacus ?
2	Siphonarii.
2	Uncinarii.
? 1	Falciarius ?
3	A Balneis.
2	Aquarii.

---

Total 23-25

*Executive Staff of the Century.*

1	Vexillarius.
1	Optio.
1	Tesserarius.

---

Total 3

Each cohort thus supplied—

for H.Q. duty	9 men.
for Cohort staff and duty	71-73 men
Total	80-82 men off Parade strength.
N.C.O.s	21 = 3 per century.

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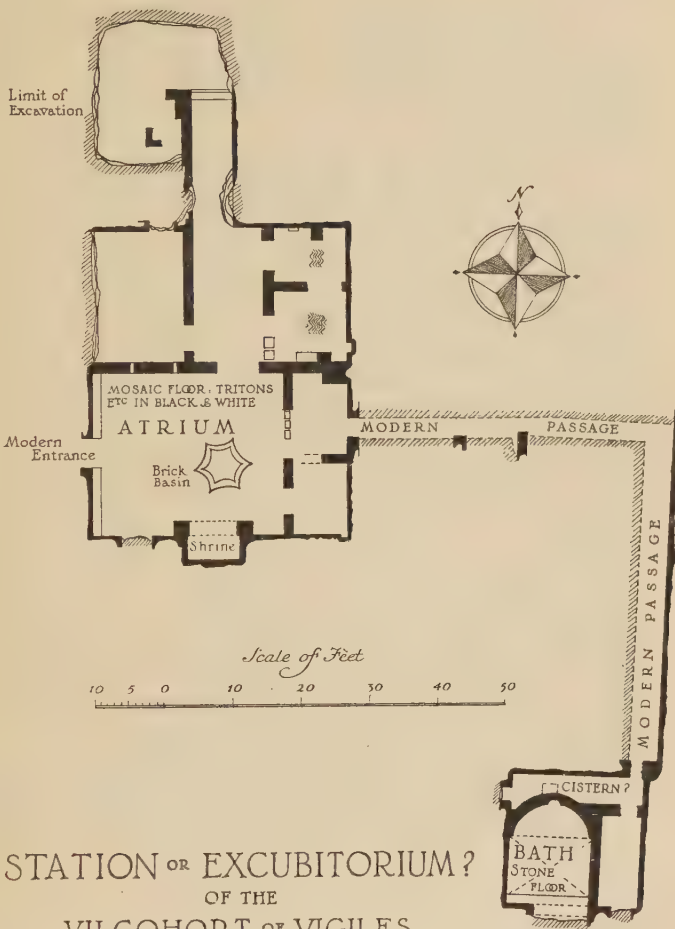
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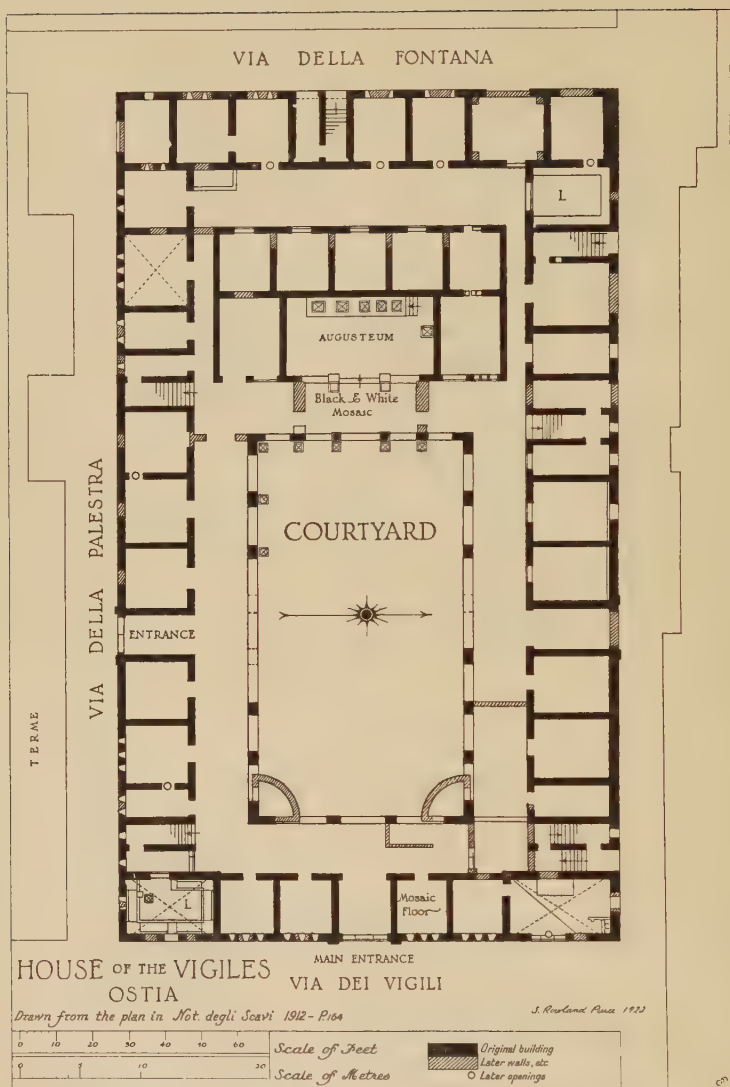
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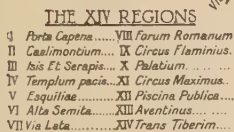




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